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Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika *and Testaments*

edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero

with the assistance of Giles Constable

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23. *Pakourianos: Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* in Bačkovo

Date: December 1083 *Translator*: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984), 5–145, at 19–133.

Manuscript: Chios Koraes 1598 (13th c.)[1]

Other translations: French, by Gautier, "Pakourianos," 18–132; Russian, by V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan, *Typik Gregoriya Pakuriana* (Yerevan, 1978), pp. 68–121, with commentary, pp. 122–235; modern Georgian, by Simon Kaouchtschischvili, *Typikon Gregorii Pacuriani* (= Georgica. Scriptorum byzantinorum excerpta ad Georgiam pertinentia 5) (Tbilisi, 1963).[2]

Institutional History

This foundation, which still survives, is located in Bulgaria near modern Bačkovo in the Chaya River valley surrounded by the Rhodope Mountains, south of Plovdiv (Byzantine Philippoupolis). The epithet *Petritzonitissa*[3] is derived from the neighboring fortification of Petritzos mentioned [2] in the *typikon* below.

A. Career of the Founder

The founder Gregory Pakourianos has been claimed by both Georgians and Armenians, leading to a lively scholarly debate over his ancestry.[4] Prior to drawing up his *typikon* for *Petritzonitissa* in 1083, he had been engaged in a military career for at least twenty years, starting with his participation in the unsuccessful defense of Ani against the Seljuk leader Alp Arslan in 1064. He served later under emperors Michael VII Doukas (1071–78), Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81), and Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) in various responsible positions on both the eastern and the western frontiers of the empire. He was a monastic patron even before the foundation of *Petritzonitissa*, joining his brother Apasios in 1074 in making a donation to the famous Georgian monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos.[5] Later, Nikephoros III granted him estates in the vicinity of Philippoupolis, possibly including the land on which *Petritzonitissa* was built. Alexios Komnenos appointed him *megas domestikos* of the West and gave him many more properties in the Balkans.[6]

There is a possibility that there was already a Georgian monastery at Petritzos.[7] Anna Komnene mentions a monastery of this name that belonged to Empress Maria, daughter of the Georgian king Bagrat IV (1027–72) and spouse of Michael VII Doukas and later also Nikephoros III Botaneiates. Also, a Georgian manuscript is attributed to two monks "from Petritzos" in the year 1030. In any event, the construction of Pakourianos' monastery took place under the supervision of the monk Gregory Vanskos.[8] Pakourianos may well not have been present at the site,

unlike the case documented later in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [75] in which the founder Isaac Komnenos personally supervised the construction of the church for which that document was written. According to the historian Anna Komnene, who says he was of a noble Armenian lineage, Gregory Pakourianos fell in battle against the Patzinaks, apparently at the village of Belyakovo, north of Philippoupolis, in 1086.[9]

B. Later History of the Foundation[10]

1. Era of Georgian Administration

For a long time the monastery remained under Georgian control, as Pakourianos had intended, certainly throughout the twelfth century. There are two mostly unpublished bead rolls preserved in the library of the modern monastery, one dating from around 1600 and another from the mid-seventeenth century, that contain lists of the foundation's donors and superiors.[11] Although the monastery may have come at least temporarily under the control of the Bulgarian Tsar Kalojan (1197–1207) in 1206 when he conquered the region of the Rhodope Mountains, Georgian monks were still present in the thirteenth century. Judging from a silver icon mount of the Mother of God associated with this monastery that bears a Georgian inscription dated to 1311, *Petritziotissa* had become a pilgrimage site for other Georgian monks.[12] The monastery lost its Georgian character, however, by the fourteenth century.

2. Era of Bulgarian Administration

In 1344, Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–71) established Bulgarian control more firmly, and Bulgarian monks were established in the monastery at this time. The Bulgarian tsar restored the monastery and endowed it richly. The immediate area of the Rhodope Mountains came under Ottoman control in 1363. After the conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks under Murad I in 1393, the Bulgarian Patriarch, Evtimij of Turnovo, went into exile at this monastery. In the early fifteenth century, Constantine Kostenechki came to study there under Evtimij's students Andrew and Andronikos. The monastery was reportedly destroyed by the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth or the early part of the sixteenth century and was left deserted for nearly a century. The foundation, by then known by the Bulgarian name *Petritsoni*, was rebuilt towards the end of the sixteenth century by the Bulgarian nobleman Georgi and his son Constantine. A new refectory was built in 1601, and a new church in 1604, both still in existence. Life-size donor portraits of the new founders appear on the eastern wall of the narthex of the seventeenth-century church.

3. Fate of the *Typikon* and the Foundation

Lemerle (*Cinq études*, p. 122) believed that the original Greek version of the *typikon* was preserved at *Petritsoni* until at least 1628 (but see Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 12, n. 19). It had long since disappeared by the time Bulgaria recovered its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. Greek monks were in residence at the monastery then, but the Bulgarian and Greek ecclesiastical authorities soon engaged in a dispute over control of the foundation, which was richly endowed.[13] During the course of this conflict, apparently in 1888, the bilingual Greek-Georgian manuscript on which the best current editions of the two surviving versions of the *typikon* are based had been taken away to the library of Koraes on Chios, then still an Ottoman possession. Georgios Mousaios, a Greek of Stenimachos who deserves the credit for bringing the *typikon* to

the attention of the modern scholarly world in his Jena dissertation in 1888, had had to use an inferior manuscript of 1792, itself a modern Greek translation, for his first edition of the work. Previously, he had failed to gain the cooperation of the monastery's monks or of Gregory, the metropolitan of Philippoupolis, to gain access to what he mistakenly believed to be the "original" manuscript of the *typikon*. Later, Mousaios was to bring a complaint before the patriarch of Constantinople that Gregory had instigated its removal from the monastery. Meanwhile, the quarrel over the ownership of the monastery was not resolved until 1894, when it was definitively awarded to the Bulgarian exarchate.

C. Architectural Evidence

1. The Bačkovo Kostnitsa (Ossuary)[14]

The ossuary, built as a tomb for Gregory and his brother Apasios between 1074 and 1083 (so Grishin, "Evidence," p. 93), is the only structure at Bačkovo dating back to Byzantine times. It is located a short distance to the east of the present monastery on a steep mountain ridge. There are fourteen tombs in the stone floor of the first story (the crypt). The upper story served as a chapel and contains two wall tombs. There are five niche images in the chapel: donor portraits of Gregory and Apasios Pakourianos, who are shown holding a model of the original *katholikon*, a domed church with two side chapels; George and Gabriel, two founders (*ktetores*) of an uncertain date; Sts. Constantine and Helena; St. John the Theologian; and Ivan Alexander, all identified by Greek inscriptions. Grishin ("Evidence," p. 96) dates these to 1344–63.

2. Plan of the Original *Katholikon*

Although the *typikon* refers [1] to three churches dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God, John the Forerunner, and St. George, excavations conducted at the site in 1955 indicate that there was one *katholikon* dedicated to the Virgin with side chapels dedicated to each of the saints (Grishin, "Evidence," p. 91). This confirms the evidence offered by the fourteenth-century donor portrait of Gregory and Apasios Pakourianos, executed at a time when the original church was still standing.

Analysis

This is a moderately progressive document in the reform tradition. The author Pakourianos, who may have already served as the patron of a traditional private foundation [31], demonstrates [18] a keen perception of the problems of that form of organization which led him to choose the now popular independent and self-governing constitution then being promoted by contemporary monastic reformers. While the author's reform sympathies may seen lukewarm, especially in comparison to the fervent (22) *Evergetis*, the fairer comparison is with the contemporary (19) *Attaleiates* and its considerably less imaginative, tradition-bound author.

Passing over (22) *Evergetis*, if indeed it was known to him, Pakourianos chose a more indulgent and less rigorously separatist disciplinary regime for his monks by adopting the *typikon* of the Constantinopolitan *Panagios* as a model (see below). Perhaps the need to enforce isolation from the lay world was less severe for an institution located in the countryside and made up of monks (former soldiers among them) who could not speak Greek, and thus would have fewer outside ties anyway.

To meet official requirements as well as the needs of his own community, Pakourianos had his *typikon* drawn up [33] in three languages: Greek, Georgian and Armenian. Manuscript versions of the *typikon* in the first two languages survive today. The Greek version, though not understood by his monks, was to be authoritative and never to leave the monastery. A copy of it was to be placed in the monastery of *Panagios* for safekeeping, in case there should be "some need of it on the part of some outside quarreling about something in the *typikon* stored in our monastery."

A. Model for the Typikon

In an unusual acknowledgement of his model, the author states forthrightly in the introduction that he has adopted the rule (*typos*) of the monastery of *Panagios*, with whose monks he had been closely associated, to govern his own foundation.[15] Although he has surely customized his model considerably, as in [9] for instance, Pakourianos declares that he has incorporated "the whole ecclesiastic procedure and the manner of the monks' living and eating" from the founder's rule of *Panagios*, said to represent the "middle and most royal road" [to salvation]. Pakourianos had enjoyed a close association with the monks of this foundation, whom he terms in his introduction "those very civilized men, accustomed to good living and brought up within that prosperous and populous city." This suggests that the "middle road" espoused by *Panagios* is a euphemism for a lenient disciplinary regime. The identity of the author of *Panagios*' *typikon*, who is titled as its "founder" (*ktetor*), cannot be determined. We know independently that during the beginning of the eleventh century Antony, likely the disciple and first successor of Athanasios, founder of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, was serving as its superior.[16] If this Antony was in fact the *Panagios*' founder and the author of its *typikon*, that would help to explain the presence of some progressive elements in Pakourianos' *typikon* (e.g., its independent constitution [18]) that could be traced back to an Athonite source like (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12].

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

Pakourianos apparently did not share the misgivings of (22) *Evergetis* [23] about setting a fixed number of positions for the monks in his foundation. He decrees [6] that there should be fifty, not including the superior, the number of which "should never fall short" [25]. His own relatives who were monks had first preference [25], followed by other tonsured Georgians. He did not want [24] any Greeks admitted to the monastery, however, "lest anyone cause harm to the monastery or appoint someone opposed to the place and eager to gain control over it or gain for himself the leadership or appropriate the monastery on some other abominable pretext."

2. Liturgical Duties

Pakourianos instructs [6] that twenty-seven of the fifty monks established in the foundation were to "spend their time in singing the hymns of the holy church." Those responsible presumably included the ecclesiarch, the six priests, two deacons, and two subdeacons. Therefore the purpose of the foundation, judging from the assignment of personnel, was predominantly liturgical.

Unlike (22) *Evergetis*, this *typikon*, a more purely administrative document than any of its predecessors, contains no detailed instructions for the performance of services. A liturgical *typikon*,

most likely patterned after that employed at *Panagios*, must have filled [12] the deficiency. The priests were to celebrate [7] liturgies on four days of the week and on feast days. Pakourianos obliges [12] the monks to carry out all the required services "continuously without fail like some inescapable debt." On the remaining three days of ordinary weeks, the priests were free to celebrate for whomever they chose.

As in (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (22) *Evergetis* [11], two other eleventh-century foundations dedicated to the Mother of God, the patronal feast, here (and in (22) *Evergetis* [11]) the Dormition, called for [11] a celebration in "as splendid and zealous manner," rivaling the festivities in "the most famous and greatest churches." Even women, who were usually banned from the foundation, were allowed [23] access to the church on this feast day.

3. Other Offices

Two property administrators (*epitropoi*), a sacristan/treasurer (*skeuophylax kai docheiarios*), a wine steward (*oinochoos*), a refectorian (*trapezarios*), a guestmaster (*xenodochos*), an infirmarian (*gerotrophos kai nosokomos*), and an overseer (*epiteretes*) are listed [6] among the officers of the monastery engaged in services aside from the liturgy.

4. Manual Labor

The monks engaged [6] in the performance of manual labors were the lamplighter (*lychnaptes*), the baker (*artopoios*), the cook (*mageiros*), the wine steward (*oinochoos*), and the gatekeeper (*pyleonarios*). Pakourianos cites [14] Basil of Caesarea for the idea that psalm singing and the performance of manual labor are not incompatible, and asks [18] each monk, whatever his assigned task, to pray for the emperors, the army "devoted to Christ," and his own soul. The implication of further discussion, however, is that manual labor has acquired [6] connotations of punishment, an assignment for "people whose characters are not reliable nor hearts repentant" (cf. the discussion in (9) *Galesios* [182], [185]).

5. Sacramental Life

Aside from obliging [13] the monks to make daily confession exclusively to their superior (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15]), there is no further discussion of sacramental life, e.g., regulation of the reception of communion, etc.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Pakourianos provides [4] a stern endorsement of the fundamentals of cenobitic life, including a common dining table, no distinctions in food (different kinds of bread) or in drink (better and lesser vintages of wine), no private pursuits (perhaps crafts or trades are meant here) of any kind, no possession of animals, and no storing up or consumption of edibles in cells.

7. Personal Possessions

Since the superior was expected [5] to be an example to the monks by having no private possessions, we must assume that this discipline was generally expected of the monks also even though the *typikon* does not provide for the rigorous enforcement of monastic poverty seen in (22) *Evergetis* [22]. Since the monks were granted [9] a monetary allowance to purchase clothing and perhaps other "necessities," the implication is that certain personal possessions were in fact permitted that would not have been allowed at *Evergetis*.

8. Relations with Family

This *typikon* is also more indulgent in permitting the monks to continue ties with their families than is the case in (22) *Evergetis* [22], where even correspondence is banned without permission of the superior. Here at *Petritzonitissa*, Pakourianos makes [8] provision for entertaining friends and family of the superior or one of the brothers. Monks were not allowed to entertain guests in their cells, however, as they did under very different conditions in (21) *Roidion* [B5].

9. Servants

In an important accommodation to privilege, the *typikon* allows [4] a monk who is "one of the very exalted or someone used to luxurious living" to have a personal servant and be excused from certain cenobitic requirements such as eating meals in the refectory, for "in the case of such people attendants must be appointed, and a weak nature must be consoled by giving the necessary help." This is in accord with the practice in (19) *Attaleiates* [42], written for a contemporary, unreformed institution, but in flagrant opposition to (22) *Evergetis* [24].

Pakourianos was unwilling to allow [5] the superior to have his servant (or a relative) serving in any office either within the monastery or without, perhaps because he feared this would facilitate the privatization of the foundation.

10. Cohabitation of Older and Younger Monks

Citing patristic precedent and canon law, Pakourianos strongly condemns [17] the introduction of eunuchs and young boys into the monastery. This was in accordance with an older tradition exemplified by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [48] and, in part, (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]. While not addressing this issue directly, the contemporary authors of (22) *Evergetis* [24] and (10) *Eleousa* [5] provide for pairing older and younger monks in cells. The author of (19) *Attaleiates* [30], however, actually requires that his monks be eunuchs. Earlier in the eleventh century, our documents note the disruptive presence of homoerotically attractive youths in (9) *Galesios* [196] and on Mount Athos in (15) *Constantine IX* [1], [15]. For some reason this was not a concern of the Evergetian reform movement.

11. Diet

Pakourianos expects [8] that the monks at *Petritzonitissa* should be well fed, with three dishes a day the usual standard and four courses on certain feast days. The monks were also to receive four measures of wine. The superior is instructed not to curtail the diet, and was in fact encouraged to make additions to it "to blunt the impulses of those who favor indulgence."

Unlike Nikon, author of (20) *Black Mountain* [72], Pakourianos was unwilling to tolerate [15] monks who imposed upon themselves rigorist dietary observances beyond those practiced by the community as a whole. Pakourianos considers such monks wilful and vain, and refers to a condemnation of them in the *typikon* of *Panagios*. This suggests that the founder anticipated some difficulty from monks who might not find the latter's "middle road" sufficiently challenging.

12. Clothing

In his regulation of clothing, Pakourianos announces [9] a break with the practice at *Panagios*, where clothing was communally distributed to the monks, presumably from the monastery's storerooms. Here Pakourianos orders that the monks be paid an allowance (*roga*) on Easter Sunday so that they could buy their necessities at a fair held adjacent to the monastery. For this purpose,

Pakourianos divides the community into three orders of 15, 15, and 20 monks respectively. The superior receives the largest allowance, and progressively lesser allowances are set for the monks in the three ranks. Thus, in sharp distinction to (22) *Evergetis* [26], inequality in dress was a fundamental fact of life at *Petritzonitissa*.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

In one indubitably important and progressive provision, Pakourianos deliberately rejects [3] the traditional private form of organization and establishes instead a free (*eleuthera*) and self-governing (*autexousia*) constitution for his foundation, making it exempt from interference either by his own relatives (see also [18]) or by public authorities of the emperor or the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Pakourianos singles out the metropolitan of Philippoupolis for mention in this connection. So that the foundation might be safe from harassment at his "harmful hands," Pakourianos was unwilling to allow the local prelate to receive even the customary commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgies conducted at the monastery (cf. Manuel of Stroumitza's suspicion of his own successors in (10) *Eleousa* [16]).

In choosing the independent form of government also endorsed by his contemporaries the authors of (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (with more reluctance) (10) *Eleousa* [18], Pakourianos consciously rejects [18] the traditional private form of organization in which "some who set up monasteries . . . put [them] under the authority of their relatives in succession after the death of the founder." Pakourianos claims from his own experience to have seen quarreling heirs dispute these foundations in courts, which often awarded them to unjust and unworthy claimants. Thus, choosing between the traditional and the newly popular form of organization for his foundation, Pakourianos came to the opposite decision of the author of (19) *Attaleiates* [14], who was willing to let his foundation become independent only after his family line died out.

Not content with simply asserting the foundation's independence, Pakourianos also warns off [18] his own relatives and associates, damning anyone seeking to make a "despicable profit" from the foundation or its assets with the traditional curse of the 318 fathers of the Council of Nicaea. This stern attitude should be compared to the forthright acceptance of profit-taking seen in (19) *Attaleiates* [24]. Whereas the author of the latter document thought it unfair to deprive his relatives of some of the financial benefits of a foundation that formed the greater part of his estate, Pakourianos designates his foundation as his "appointed and substitute heir" on which his relatives were to have no claim. Like his contemporaries the authors of (10) *Eleousa* [18] and (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 10], [INV 11], he also took [33E] the precaution of obtaining an imperial chrysobull to bolster his foundation's autonomy and immunities.

2. Leadership

Pakourianos asserts [5] his prerogative to appoint superiors for the foundation as long as he should live: "Whomsoever I install as superior shall be so." He intended that his appointee should have lifetime tenure, provided he lived righteously. The superior was allowed to choose his own successor in turn, not out of consideration for kinship or blood relationship (lest the foundation become privatized again), but "by the choice and testimony of the brotherhood." Should he die beforehand, the "better and virtuous and more learned brothers" (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13])

would make the choice, perhaps with the endorsement of the brotherhood as a whole.

Pakourianos' first choice [30] as superior was the monk Gregory, whom he had entrusted with the construction of the monastery. The pattern of a monk erecting a foundation on commission from a lay patron is an old one—cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2], [8]—and useful, since in this way a religious leader who was not himself a wealthy man, could still gain access to the resources necessary to build and maintain a monastery.

Pakourianos was anxious, however, that the necessarily strong position of the superior in an independent foundation should not tempt him to consider it his own. Therefore he orders [5] that superiors "have no power to regulate anything on their own" (see also [18]), and he limits [30] posthumous liturgical commemoration to superiors who preserve the *typikon*.

3. Senior Monks

As in (22) *Evergetis*, there was a group of senior monks at *Petritzonitissa*, who had certain responsibilities of leadership. At this foundation, they were to select [5] the new superior if the old one died suddenly "as is usually the way" without designating his own successor. Pakourianos also appeals [19] to these monks to take it upon themselves to expel the superior or other official if such a person is found who "disposes of the property of the monastery and its sacred possessions wrongly and recklessly." However, Pakourianos does not seem to have envisioned a role for these monks as advisors to the superior like that found in (22) *Evergetis* [14].

As usual, membership in the group is not defined, perhaps because Pakourianos wished to allow some flexibility in the determination of its composition. It may, however, have been similar or identical to those who were [9] in the first order of monks (up to 15) for distribution of clothing allowances, namely the two property administrators, the ecclesiarch, the sacristan, the older priests, and "as many as are notable among the brothers" and of similar character to the superior.

4. Endorsement of Authoritarian Rule

Pakourianos chooses to endorse [15] an old-fashioned authoritarian model for his foundation: "All that is laid down by the superior is law, and those subordinate to him must not . . . contradict him or oppose him in any way." Like (22) *Evergetis* [14], he values [6] unanimity of mind and spirit, expressed in unquestioning obedience of the monks to the superior. He declares [13] that "there is no worse calamity than this, when someone is insubordinate to the superior himself and speaks improperly in his presence." Such backtalkers were to be expelled from the community.

5. Patronal Privileges

As noted above, Pakourianos considers [5] it his right, like any patron of a traditional foundation, to appoint the superior during his lifetime. Otherwise, the founder had rather modest expectations of patronal privilege, in keeping with the foundation's status as an independent and self-governing monastery. He orders [12] three lamps to burn continuously at his tomb. There were also to be commemorative donations [21] twice yearly after memorial services for Pakourianos and his late brother Apasios, who had offered [2] a property to the institution in which he was buried. The founder personalizes [21] the monks' responsibility for the performance of these services by declaring, "In our commemoration you should remind yourselves, brothers, as you look at this delightful house of God which is our church, of the annual income and the other revenues, bearing in mind that after God we have been responsible for these." The founder also insists [25] that his

relatives who were already monks should have first preference for admission to the monastery, though relatives who were not of "a virtuous way of life" were to have no special claim on admission—a necessary safeguard to prevent *Petritzonitissa* from privatization as a family concern.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

After a century or more of widespread abuses, reform sentiment favored very strict standards of financial probity. Pakourianos requires that the financial officers of his foundation be accountable on a regular basis to their superiors. He himself had been held to a similar standard of accountability during his career, as references [33] to chrysobulls of exoneration for various tenures of administration make clear. That should make it less surprising that he holds [26] the superior himself (who as a kind of bursar had a more active role in financial administration than in other institutions that followed the Studite tradition of (4) *Theodore Studites* [22]), responsible for providing accounts to the stewards (*oikonomoi*), the treasurer and the brotherhood each Easter. Officials convicted of improper or "foolish" expenditures were required to make up the losses and had to relinquish their posts.

Pakourianos also makes [26] an interesting provision for setting aside a reserve fund for unanticipated needs; any additional savings were to be invested in acquisitions of real estate.

2. Inalienability of Property

Pakourianos speaks [2] proudly of his donations of icons, relics, lamps and ecclesiastical vestments and also provides [33] an inventory of them. Listed in this inventory are copies of the *Moralia* of Basil of Caesarea and the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimakos, both favorite sources for monastic reformers in this era, as well as an unidentified book of Theodore the Studite. There is also a list of imperial chrysobulls and other official documents kept (presumably for better safekeeping) in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Among the chrysobulls kept at the monastery was one (now lost) confirming the foundation's independent constitution. All of this documentation reflects the contemporary preoccupation with curbing corruption both in public and private affairs.

Pakourianos' warning [33] against the alienation of the foundation's movable properties, while backed up with an appeal to heavenly vengeance, does not show the obsessive concern or use the ideologically charged language of (22) *Evergetis* [19]. This suggests that Pakourianos' *typikon* was written too soon to reflect the full impact of the bitter controversy in the 1080s over Alexios Komnenos' requisitions of ecclesiastical furnishings (*keimelia*). Citing a "rule (*typos*) of the monasteries of the East and the West" (reference uncertain), Pakourianos does forbid [32] the sale or even leasing of immovable property. Properties were also not to be assigned to one of the monks (i.e., as an *adelphaton*, as in (21) *Roidion* [A2]), but could of necessity be leased to the peasants (*paroikoi*) for cultivation.

3. Commemorative Observances

Aside from the required observances for the founder [12], his brother Apasios [21], the superior [30], and departed monks [27], Pakourianos also permits [20], cf. [27] the acceptance of gifts (*prosenexeis*) from lay benefactors for daily or joint commemorations, provided that "there is no

occasion for harm to the monastery nor likelihood of innovation." Even the scrupulous (22) *Evergetis* [36] did not worry about accepting outside donations from this source, though (20) *Black Mountain* [85] was more sceptical, and much later, (46) *Akropolites* [8] illustrates how they might have a burdensome impact on a foundation. A priest was to be stationed [27] in a funerary chapel of St. John the Forerunner to "carry out there the commemoration of the dead always and unfailingly."

E. Overall Philosophy

The general philosophy of *Petritzonitissa*, borrowed presumably from *Panagios*, was more old-fashioned and accepting of privileges than the fervently reformist (22) *Evergetis*. While the author of the latter denounced quarrels over seating at meals in the strongest language [9], Pakourianos simply provides [8] that the superior should organize seating so that "no confusion or disorder should arise." Pakourianos' rationale for permitting [4] servants to the sick, old and "very exalted" is also revealing: "For arising from this there will not be any irregularity nor a change in the community law nor yet any great harm nor innovation either in the spiritual principles or even in the activities of the place." In other words, Pakourianos expected that his monks would understand that the high-born would be entitled to privileges, even in apparent violation of the cenobitic lifestyle. Indeed, regulations motivated by egalitarian sentiment are few and far between in the *typikon*, but include the provisions for diet [8], and the exhortation [5] to the superior that he show love equally for all the monks in the community.

F. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

Pakourianos' *typikon* shows a more contemporary attitude with its numerous provisions for institutional philanthropy. This was hardly a unique characteristic of reform monasteries, seeing that philanthropic foundations had been joined to monasteries in our documents since (16) *Mount Tmolos* in the late tenth century. Pakourianos' contribution to philanthropy includes support [29] for three hospices (*xenodocheia*) intended to serve travellers and the poor and furnished with beds and stoves. The founder intended that the level of hospitality should be upgraded "to become the finest and of a superior kind" if future increases in the monastery's revenue should permit.

Pakourianos' foundation also features [31] a school at the dependency of St. Nicholas where the training in holy scriptures of six boys intended to become priests was to take place under the tutelage of an old priest. Since the priest was also obliged to perform memorial liturgies for Pakourianos' father, uncle and cousin, St. Nicholas may have been a traditional family church or chapel, now subordinated to the independent foundation of *Petritzonitissa*.[17] If they proved themselves worthy, the boys were guaranteed positions at the monastery on reaching adulthood.

In addition to these philanthropic foundations, Pakourianos's *typikon* provides [10] for distribution of food and money on fast days to "brothers in Christ" (i.e., the poor) at the monastery's gate. In another place in the *typikon*, there is a provision [21] for charitable donations of cash to the "brothers in Christ" in conjunction with the commemorative services for Pakourianos and his brother Apasios. In apparent contradiction of his provision in [26] that surplus income be used to build up a reserve fund and to purchase additional landed property, Pakourianos here urges that

this money be given away to the "brothers in Christ," for this purpose defined as not only the poor but also the hired laborers and the dependent peasants who served the monastery.

2. Fairness to the Peasantry

Regardless of how his foundation's surplus income was actually employed, Pakourianos was anxious, in the spirit of his times, to vindicate his reputation for fairness to the dependent peasantry who worked on the monastery's lands. He asserts [1] that he erected the various components of the foundation with his own money, not as "the result of any wrongdoing or even forced labor (*angareia*), additional requisitions (*parolke*), or the exceedingly abusive imposition (*hyperepereia*) on my peasants, with them being forced to suffer for the building of holy churches or for the building of the monastery around them . . ."

Notes on the Introduction

1. For details, see Gautier, "Pakourianos," pp. 6–19. Ms. Chios Koraes 1598 also contains a medieval Georgian version of the *typikon*, which Gautier (p. 17) considered to be "more polished, less faulty [than the Greek version], and nearly always comprehensible."
2. There are also two translations of the Georgian version: Latin, by Tarchnischvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani*, and Russian, by Chanidzé, *Gruzinskii monastyr v Bolgarii i ego tipik.*
3. For the form, see Petit, "Typikon," p. xxi, endorsed by Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 18.
4. See the partisan summary in Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," pp. 135–66; cf. Garsoïan, "Pakourianos," p. 1553.
5. Based on a necrological note in an Iveron ms. of that date, trans. Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," p. 164.
6. See Lemerle, "Le typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos (Décembre 1083)," *Cinq études*, pp. 164–83, for a full discussion of Pakourianos' military career and his landed properties.
7. Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 9.5, ed. Bernard Leib (Paris, 1967); see discussion in Grishin, "Evidence," p. 93, n. 42.
8. (23) *Pakourianos* [30], with Grishin, "Evidence," p. 93, n. 51.
9. Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 6.14, ed. Leib.
10. For the later history of the foundation, see Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries*, pp. 15, 334–41; Grishin, "Evidence," pp. 93–96; and Talbot and Cutler, "Petritzos Monastery," p. 1644.
11. Bačkovo monastery library Ms. graecus 50, 143; see Grishin, "Evidence," pp. 93–94 for details.
12. Chanidzé, *Gruzinskii monastyr*, pp. 354–62; cf. earlier defective edition by Petit, "Typikon," pp. xix–xx; see discussion by Grishin, "Evidence," p. 96.
13. See the differing accounts in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 115–16, and Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," pp. 134–35.
14. For the ossuary, see Bakalova, *Kostnitsa*, esp. pp. 27–28; Stamov and Angelova, *Heritage*, pp. 113–15; and Grishin, "Evidence."
15. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 385– 86.
16. *Sancti Athanasi Athonitae Vita Secunda* (*Vita B*), chap. 78, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. 211.
17. See also the family burial church of St. Barbara's in the *Testament* (*Diatyposis*) of Eustathios Boilas, ed. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 27.

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Translation

The *typikon* issued by the *megas domestikos* of the West, lord Gregory Pakourianos, for the monastery of the very holy Mother of God *Petritziotissa* founded by him.

[Prologue]

By the help and goodness of the revered and life-giving Trinity that has fashioned everything and sustains it, the Father without beginning and his word the Son without beginning and his life-giving Spirit of the same substance, the one divinity and power, into which we have been baptized and which we worship as our ancestors did, confident through our hope and sure trust in this we will begin to speak and write about the task which was prescribed for us [p. 21] and was the object of our desire and prayer, that is, the formation of our newly established monastery, as will be revealed in what follows next concerning the limit and number of the monks in it and concerning the ordinance and rule by which they will live together to the honor and glory of our all-immaculate mistress the Mother of God.

In the locality of the fort called Petritzos all the monks knowing the Georgian script and language have been gathered and organized into the monastery recently built through the providence and with the help of the God of all by me, Gregory, by the goodwill of God the *sebastos* and *megas domestikos* of all the West, the true son of Pakourianos now at blessed rest,[1] the preeminent Prince of Princes, by birth from among those of the East from the most brilliant race of the Georgians. I add that I am the founder of this monastery and place of my burial established by God and newly built, which has been named for the honor and glory of the Mother of Christ our God, and of its far-famed and most beautiful holy church and in it the most beautiful tabernacle of God, built for my help, redemption, and salvation and in addition that of my own brother, the *magistros* Apasios, of happy memory.

As I was connected in brotherhood, close friendship, and in spiritual attitude with the monks in the most holy monastery of *Panagios* which is situated in the great city of the most mighty and holy Constantine also called New Rome, and as their whole monastic rule[2] and organization seemed to be and was very much "in accordance with the will" (Eph. 1:5) of God and "those who truly love him" (II John 1), I also decided in this monastery newly founded by me with God's help and in the said holy church to organize and establish the whole ecclesiastical procedure and the manner of the monks' living and eating following in every way their rules and regulations, so that these men too will live together by the providence of God imitating them, both the one who heads the monastery and those belonging to the most holy office of the priesthood with all the rest of the brotherhood, as their rules will be revealed in order below.

Since those very civilized men, accustomed to good living and brought up within that prosperous and populous city, being thus disciplined by their most blessed and angelic founder, keep unshaken the rule laid down for them steadfastly and securely, [p. 23] how much more should not we, my fathers and brothers, whose lot it is to be set by God in this recently founded holy monastery, we being Georgians, having had a varied military career and a very hard experience of life, now that we happen to have settled in a suitable place far removed from any cause of harm to monks since we have no way to get to towns nor are we troubled by anything else improper, and since there is the clearest water and all kinds of fruit and vegetables highly valued by us since

childhood or from the times of our ancestors, how should we too not gladly be subject to their rules, observing the regulation of those who follow closely the pattern of their orders? But if—something I pray may not happen—contrary to the rules laid down now by us someone goes against the rule of the aforesaid most holy monastery of *Panagios* desiring a life of luxury or rest, let this man go out in peace wherever he wishes and find his own place of rest. For the founder and superior of *Panagios*,[3] mentioned before and now in his glorious inheritance, being very wise in the things of God and having given up the excesses and defects of everyday life, decreed that those under his instruction should walk along the middle and most "royal road."[4] For side-turnings are always perilous and very dangerous.

So the contents of the sacred volume which truly glorifies the monastic life and which was compiled by us from the rule of the often-mentioned most holy monastery of *Panagios,* in short, set down in chapters the things which should be contemplated and carried out by the monks and the principles by which in all points they should live. They are as follows and to them we have added few things we thought were right. [p. 25]

Synopsis or table of the chapters[5] in the present *typikon* clearly laid out for finding at a glance.

Chapter One: Concerning the way this most holy monastery of the Georgians was founded.

Chapter Two: Concerning how and what dedications were made to this holy church both from my possessions and those of my own brother of blessed memory—of movable, immovable, and animate property.

Chapter Three: Concerning the fact that this monastery should be free from every kind of imposition and annoyance from emperor and patriarch and the removal of any of the things in it.

Chapter Four: Concerning the fact that the monks, that is all the brotherhood, should be completely prevented from living privately each of them in his own cell or acting independently or possessing food or anything else at all.

Chapter Five: Concerning how the superior should be chosen for the leadership of the monks and how his successor should be raised to this office and ministry in this monastery.

Chapter Six: Concerning the quantity, that is, the number of the monks, because the number of them laid down by us must not fail, and concerning the fact that an offering should not be taken from them, and concerning how, and how many of them should be appointed to the offices and services of the monastery.

Chapter Seven: Concerning the priests carrying out priestly duties, how they ought to choose and appoint them, and how they should carry out the divine service each week or on how many and which days in each week they should carry out the divine service and remember us and those who are remembered by us.

Chapter Eight: Concerning the preparation of the table and concerning the silence and quietness of those serving.

Chapter Nine: Concerning clothes or the payment for them, when and how the superior ought to distribute this to the monks.

Chapter Ten: Concerning abstinence during the three holy fasts, how we ought to carry them out with abstinence and show beneficence and charity to our brothers in Christ.

Chapter Eleven: Concerning the feast of our holy church and the other famous and glorious feasts of our Lord, [p. 27] also those of the victorious and holy martyrs and all the other saints, how they ought to celebrate them in a splendid and holy manner.

Chapter Twelve: Concerning the lighting that should be in the holy church and concerning the prayer and singing of hymns, how they should pray quietly and without disturbance.

Chapter Thirteen: Concerning the fact that every day all the brothers must confess their sins to the superior and all their intentions in deed and word and thought.

Chapter Fourteen: Concerning the manual labor and toil of the monks and the fact that during their labor they must sing hymns diligently.

Chapter Fifteen: Concerning the rule that the brothers should not travel about outside the monastery without the instruction of the superiors and concerning those who pray hypocritically in the middle of the congregation.

Chapter Sixteen: Concerning the administrators of the monastery appointed according to the rule and so named that they truly carry out the care of souls.

Chapter Seventeen: Concerning the fact that the superior should be strict and give his orders so as to provide security and prevent eunuchs entering the monastery and young boys too.

Chapter Eighteen: Concerning the fact that the monastery should exist free from the power and injury of our relations and from exaction on all other commodities of every sort in it.

Chapter Nineteen: Concerning the position if the superior of the monastery errs in some way or someone else of those dealing with its ministries or spending its money recklessly, that they should not only be prevented from doing so but also be banished and driven away completely.

Chapter Twenty: Advice on deciding from which lay people offerings ought to be accepted for the salvation of souls and on the offering of divine liturgies for them.

Chapter Twenty-One: Instruction to the brothers concerning my commemoration and that of our family and about the brothers having a memorial repast and distributing coins on the day of our remembrance, and in addition showing abundant beneficence to the poor.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning dead superiors and other brothers, how they ought to bury them and remember them continually with prayers and supplications. [p. 29]

Chapter Twenty-Three: Concerning the fact that a woman should not be permitted to enter our holy church nor a monastery for women be built within its boundaries.

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the fact that no Greek monk or priest should be appointed in this monastery and for what reason.

Chapter Twenty-Five: Concerning our relatives and my men of Georgian origin who have chosen to be monks in this monastery, how those in the monastery ought to receive them, and how the

men themselves ought to have the right attitude and live in this monastery in a good and becoming way.

Chapter Twenty-Six: Concerning the steward and the other officers being called to account by the superior and the superior by the community of the brothers.

Chapter Twenty-Seven: Concerning the continuous commemoration of the dead and the unceasing appeasing of God for their souls with divine liturgies.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: Concerning the presence inside the monastery of a home for the old, and how they ought to give the old men in the monastery a fitting rest and comfort them.

Chapter Twenty-Nine: Concerning the three hospices built by us in Stenimachos, beside Marmaron, and at Prilonkos, and how they were established by us.

Chapter Thirty: Concerning the first superior Gregory Baninos appointed by us, how after his death he ought to be remembered and on what day.

Chapter Thirty-One: Concerning the youths, where they ought to live and how they ought to be instructed and whether they should enter into the great monastery, and about the priest officiating in the church of Saint Nicholas.

Chapter Thirty-Two: Concerning the fact that the superior should not hand over the day-to-day running and the established order to one of the brothers or someone outside them or transfer any of the monastery's possessions.

Chapter Thirty-Three: Concerning the safekeeping of the document of this *typikon* and the observing of what is contained in it unchanged and intact.

Chapter One

Concerning the way this most holy monastery of the Georgians was founded.

Since it is profitable and the duty of every faithful orthodox Christian who has been baptized into the holy and awful name of the revered [p. 31] Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, always to expect the end that is common to all, to take thought for the day of his death, to expect the resurrection of everyone and himself from the dead, and to meditate on that fearful and awful examination in the just judgment of Christ our God and Savior and the just requital for each of his deeds; and since it is our duty to take thought for these things with all our power while we go about in this life and to strive in every way to live wisely, to gain salvation from that fearful and "eternal punishment" and the threat of "hell fire" (Matt. 25:46; 5:22) according to that holy voice in the gospel concerning that [threat], and hence each one "to give" to God "the ransom" (Matt. 20:28) for his own soul and as it were to provide some opportunity for the unimaginable goodness and mercy of God and as a result achieve these things and to do good, each one according to his own power, and by struggling in this way to be rid of the vain snares of "Mammon" (Luke 16:9), being accepted with affection as spiritual friends in the ages to come—for by doing this we will be reckoned worthy to become joint heirs with those who have gained their everlasting inheritances, to Christ, and to gain release from our sins—for all these reasons, I the often-

mentioned *sebastos* Gregory, and *megas domestikos*, the very sinful and unworthy servant of Christ from my earliest youth up to the present time of my old age, being foolish and devoid of every good work and having as a relic of life only the true and orthodox faith of the Christians, of which I was reckoned worthy, following the tradition of this Georgian race, agreeing and corresponding in all doctrinal tradition with the most orthodox and pious race of the Romans and the great church of God among them, though I desired this from the beginning when I was still in the East, I reached the West affected with the same desire and until now I longed to build a very beautiful church and round it a dwelling for monks and in it a burial place for the repose of my sinful bones, but because of the great number of the terrible sins that I had committed and because of the turbulence and change in the world and my movement from place to place and my self-indulgent way of life I was not thought worthy to bring to pass the wish of my heart; but now at the time of my old age, not through my intelligence or knowledge but through the unutterable mercy and goodness of our God and his immeasurable pity towards me, unworthy, [p. 33] worthless in every way, and the least servant of his power, he thought it right that I should rise from the very deep sleep and relaxing indulgence of this life and meditate on the day of my death and the fear that lay before me of my most wicked deeds and reflect and see myself with my inward eyes as empty and bereft of any action pleasing to God.

Wherefore I had recourse to my sure hope and that of all those who have sinned like me, the help and succor of all Christians after God, the very blessed mother of Christ our God, the ever-virgin Mary, immaculate Mother of God, and in addition, to the most glorious and greatest forerunner and baptizer of Christ who surpassed all those "born of women" (Matt. 11:11), Saint John, and likewise to the most splendid great martyr and foremost champion of Christ, the most divine George.[6] So having made these my guides and intercessors with Christ our God on the fearful day of judgment along with all the other saints beloved of Christ, with all my heart and desire and with great toil and enormous expense "I have built" a site for "a church" (Hosea 8:14) and "a house for the glory of God" (Is. 6:1), and at the same time to the honor and glory of those three most glorious ones I mentioned above, a beautiful and most majestic one, to the best of my power and in accordance with the course of events over the years and among the unsettled people living in the theme of Philippoupolis in its more northerly parts, situated in a strongly protected ravine and on the outskirts of a village called by the local inhabitants Petritzos, and entitled Basilikis which was given to us through an august and honored chrysobull of our mighty and holy rulers in recognition of my many great and bloody struggles and my zealous efforts which I performed from my youth until this time of my old age, never sparing my own blood nor my own relatives who were with me nor also the great multitude of those serving under me for the well-being of the power of his Majesty among wherever I was appointed both in the East and the West to help Roman power, with the result that I came to be held in terrible imprisonments with a number of my relatives and my loyal and most dear people, and all of these were oppressed along with me at the hands of infidels. So, if I say that seldom did any of my relations and of those who served me with pious devotion die a natural death [p. 35] in his own bed, I will in no way be lying. For all of them shed their own blood by the sword and at the hands of the enemies of the divine cross and the Roman Empire.

So now since God has deemed me worthy to accomplish the longing of my heart, the holy

churches have been completed with the fortified monastery round them and the cells in it out of my own very great and varied expenditure. For I dare to say that it was not completed with any other money belonging to someone else or as a result of any wrongdoing or even with forced labor, additional requisitions, and exceedingly abusive impositions on my dependent peasants, with them being forced to suffer for the building of holy churches or for the building of the said monastery around them, but from my own rights and personal labors and zealous efforts.

Chapter Two

Concerning the gifts and dedications dedicated by us in our holy church, about which the document is.

We have given and established property[7] from the possessions bestowed on us by revered chrysobulls with an inalienable right of family possession, complete ownership and true authority, properties were established as free of tax by the terms of the revered chrysobulls; of these places, first and to begin with, is the fort situated in the same theme of Philippoupolis, that is, the village named Petritzos (generally called Basilikis by the common people) together with the hamlets below it—the field called Iannoba which has now been turned into a monastery, the field Batzakoba, the field Dobrolonkos, the field Dobrostanos, the field Bourseos, the field Lalkouba with that called Abroba—all these fields with the aforementioned fort together with all their territory, established tenure, ancient rights of possession and privilege of every kind and all revenue according to the summary of them in the previous delimitation.

In addition to these I have given the village situated next to these called Stenimachos along with the two forts built by me in it, also their hamlets, i.e. the field of Lipitzos and the field [p. 37] called St. Barbara situated near to Prinezes together with its hermitages of St. Nicholas and St. Elias and St. George situated above and likewise the one situated below near the village, these places similarly complete with all their ancient territory and tenure and according to the delimitation made by me of the places between them and my fort of Bodena. In addition to these I have also given the fort called Baniska with Brysis and all the rest of its villages and hamlets, and further, the pastures with all their territory and ancient tenure. Similarly I have also given in Topolinitza the village of Gelloba [known as] Praitorion with all its territory and tenure.

I have also given to our aforesaid monastery and the holy churches in it the estate called the estate of Zaoutzes with all its territory and ancient tenure in the theme of Boleron in the locality of the military district of Mosynopolis, and inside the fort of Mosynopolis the building sites bought by me and the houses built on them at my own expense, also the buildings bought by our man and agent Vardanes out of our money and similarly the ones inside the fort of Mosynopolis, together with the monastery outside it, the one set up in the name and to the honor of St. George on the mountain called Pappikion, with its vineyards and all fields and gardens and all the rest of its rightful landed property and its dependency inside the fort of Mosynopolis.

Likewise in the same theme I have given the estate situated near the military district called Peritheorion called the estate of Menas and the fields attached to it and all kinds of fields following the very clear description of them in the article of transfer; and inside the fort of Peritheorion the *aule* situated there, once possessed by Apasios the brother of Achsartanes of blessed memory, the governor there and my brother-in-law, with all its buildings and its varied tenure.

All these places then, the names of which have been written above, I presented to the church of the very holy Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* in my Georgian monastery from henceforth with all their ancient territory and tenure and all the rightful landed property, also the pairs of plow oxen in them and all the crops sown in them, [p. 39] all the remaining property of movable and animate types, in simple terms all revenue and privilege belonging to them.

My blessed and most true brother who has passed away, *magistros* Apasios, stated in his written testament, "Wherever my own brother Gregory wishes to build his church and monastery and also a tomb in which he will be put, there also my body should be buried." In addition to this in many of his other writings, he declared that his village called Prilonkion was a portion for his soul. Prilonkion is situated in the theme of Thessalonike near the *archontia* called Stephaniana, which was given to him by a revered chrysobull as recompense for his property which he abandoned in great Antioch,[8] and he decreed in his aforesaid written testament as follows: "If my own brother does not find the chance to build a church and monastery, this village of mine, Prilonkion, should be offered to the place wherever my body is buried." But since, under the guidance of God, the said revered church and monastery has been built by me, we have acted in accordance with his instruction and command, bringing the coffin with his corpse to this our church in the monastery and we have laid him in our family grave, burying him fittingly because of the intense anguish and grief which afflicts me for his departure from this life.

We did everything that was reasonable on his behalf honorably and lavishly, showing all reverence and all the affection which we had for him, having taken care of everything for the benefit of his soul strictly and truly, and distributing all that was distributed for his soul's salvation with my own hands from my own treasures and money, accomplishing it well while still in Theodosioupolis. Now that we are in the West, we have given his aforesaid estate of Prilonkion in accordance with his command to our often-mentioned church and to the burial place in it in which his body, very dear to me, has been buried and we have decreed that there should be continuous and fervent prayers for him and divine liturgies carried out daily as has been written below. This village of Prilonkion was given with its ancient forts and the hamlets under it and hospices and all its territory and ancient tenure with all its rights.

In addition to this my blessed brother added the following in his written testament giving me in the form of a legacy out of the places bestowed [p. 41] on him by revered chrysobull, the village which is called Srabikion together with Kaisaropolis which is situated in the theme of Serres in the military district of Zabalta with its lake and the fishing places and the hamlet called Glaunon under it. He made me owner, heir, and established commander of this fort and village. But because of my unbearable longing for him and because I do not need any worldly goods (for by the grace of God and the favor of his goodness, by the help and joy of our mighty and holy emperors and because of my excessive zeal I needed nothing, as has been said), the aforesaid fort and village which he left me as a legacy I have assigned therefore to our aforesaid monastery and the holy church in it and to the family grave in which he was buried, for the salvation of his soul. All the names of the aforementioned forts, villages, and estates, all of which have been given to our holy church and the Georgian monastery called Petritzos, are all listed in the revered and honored chrysobull which has been issued for the monastery.

My aforesaid blessed brother stated and decreed that many other articles from his posses-

sions and wealth should be distributed by my hands for the salvation of his soul, both of money and wealth of every kind, of silver, clothes, and other articles of every sort, and also of animals (for by the favor of God he was rich in every way and not wanting for articles of any kind). Nor did I take back any of my wealth or money which he had in trust, some of which he received openly from my hands, the rest at the time of my appointment as *doux* of Theodosioupolis and when I went away to the East when he was persuaded by me to carry out the care and administration of all my possessions. He collected the revenues from these and kept them in his possession during all the years that I was on duty in the East; for I had no one more loyal than he or more dear or who cared for my soul, nor did he hold anyone above me. All that was in his keeping as a deposit and the revenues of my possessions were in the old coinage of Romanos [III Argyros], the *trachy* of [Constantine IX] Monomachos, the coins of [Constantine X] Doukas and the scepter coins; there were also coins minted by Michael [VII Doukas].[9] After the death of my brother, on my return here from the East I found absolutely nothing left of it all, as I found none of his possessions, that were decreed by him to be distributed on behalf of his soul. [p. 43]

Such properties as have been listed above in this rule were handed over by us to the aforesaid monastery with absolutely all the things in them, i.e., the owners' plow animals, the dependent peasants and all kinds of animals belonging to them, all kinds of land both hill and plain, mountain pastures, land for pasture and for plowing, vineyards, all kinds of plants fruiting and not fruiting, milling establishments worked by water or animals, lakes and the fallow land around them, forts and all kinds of buildings in them and all articles and revenues from the immovable, movable, and animate property both inside and outside them.

In addition to these there are valuable icons, representations of Christ the Savior and all the saints, also valuable crosses with valuable relics of the divine life-giving cross, also holy gospel lectionaries both in the Greek language and script and in that of the Georgians, which were made at very great expense with various stones and pearls and enameling, and sacred vessels for the holy church, patens, chalices, and various silver chandeliers and lamps of every kind, very precious imperial garments laid up in the church, also the garments given to me by our mighty and holy emperor lord Alexios [I Komnenos] from among those which he put on his all-noble and most honored body on the occasion when with the great help and power of his divine right arm and with the good fortune of our holy emperor I crushed and destroyed his most terrible and most arrogant enemies (cf. Ps. 34 [35]:3; 73 [74]:13) who set themselves not only against the Roman Empire but also every race of Christians—I mean the Patzinaks[10] whose defeat and complete destruction is altogether one of the most difficult things to set down in writing. For I am convinced that even for many years after my death the miraculous act of Almighty God which happened then will in no way be forgotten.

Together with these are the very valuable imperial clothes which our almighty and noble emperor gave me when I returned from the capture by the Cumans[11] and those which his most fortunate brother [Isaac] the *Sebastokrator* gave me at that time. Also there are other very valuable pieces of unsewn cloth and certain other different vessels of all kinds connected with the adornment and embellishment of the church which we donated in considerable numbers, wooden icons bearing very large numbers of most pleasing figures of various saints, bronze chandeliers and large numbers of candlesticks, all of which are listed carefully according to their type in this book, [p. 45]

also all kinds of property of movable and animate types, and the number of these things given by us to our church will be easy to see because of this very detailed list registered here.[12]

Chapter Three

Concerning the fact that the holy monastery founded by us should continue free from exactions of every kind.

After all this we declare the holy churches and their most sacred precincts and the solitary places which the bands of celibates frequent in an orderly and reverent manner to be free of all constraints and disputes together with all the places written above. Further, we declare also concerning the bequests to the often-mentioned monastery consisting of immovable, movable, and animate property that they should be free and not liable to constraints in any way like the monastery itself being under its own authority, self-governing, with control over itself and not liable to exactions of any kind whatever; nor sufferings any harassment at harmful hands, whether imperial or patriarchal, or of any of the metropolitans most beloved of God, or of archbishops, or of any other persons of any kind whether ecclesiastic or governmental, or of any of our close or distant relatives, and in particular not suffering any harassment [at the hands] of the metropolitan of Philippoupolis and not being controlled by him in anything so that he should not be mentioned by name in the *synapte* of this holy church but he will be mentioned jointly with the rest of the archbishops in the phrase "on behalf of every episcopate of the orthodox who correctly expound the word of your truth,"[13] and likewise at the hands of all sorts of lay persons in authority and religious leaders from the greatest to the least, all as they are listed in the revered word of the chrysobull.[14]

Chapter Four

Concerning the monks living completely in common and all brothers being prevented from living on their own in their own cells.

With the approval of our good God and following the tradition of the holy fathers who have gone before us, I, the insignificant and unworthy Gregory, [p. 47] decided to follow them in matters beneficial to our holy monastery and to all the brothers living here that they live as a community wisely and with understanding, the superior and all his followers settling matters among themselves, being completely of one voice and one mind in all divine and human matters, having adapted themselves to a peaceful and quiet life.

There will be one common dining table for them all. I am completely opposed to two sorts of bread or of any other food being brought to the table or two varieties of wine being drunk at it; for since they live as a community one of them ought not to eat better than another or drink better wine, not even their superior himself who should take it particularly upon himself to have humility and a solemn bearing so that he can excel the rest in his observance of the rule.

Further, I forbid all the brothers, any one of them, to make any private decision or arrangement, to follow a pursuit of any kind or possess any animals or hide anything edible in his cell. For these things we utterly deprecate, especially eating and drinking in secret or with shameless wrangling contrary to the habits of moderation and the promises which we made in the presence of God

and his angels and not before men, a strict account of which we must give before the terrible judgment-seat of Christ. Nor must they have a vessel for heating water nor prepare cooked food privately and either eat this privately or serve it up openly and cause offense to the brotherhood so there would be, instead of the holy upper room and apostolic table, a trading place of abominations (Acts 1:13; John 2:16).

But if someone truly desires these things perhaps through weakness of body or very advanced old age this should be considered a necessity and be provided for this reason, and more so if it happens to be one of the very exalted or someone used to luxurious living. For in the case of such people attendants must be appointed, and a weak nature must be consoled by being given the necessary [p. 49] help. For arising from this there will not be any irregularity nor a change in the community law nor yet any very great harm or innovation either in the spiritual principles or even in the activities of the place. But if one of the disobedient or someone through obtuseness and idleness aims at something like this, in this case such a person should not get permission even if he is one of the officials lest instead of benefit and help very great harm is done to the attendants, and those meddlesome ones who take the wrong view will—to put it this way—of necessity have an involuntary excuse for indiscipline to the destruction of their obedience. The attendant ought to serve for the rest in a manner both wise and pleasing to God and encourage them by his own example of industry.

Individuals keeping food and drink in their own cells and wishing to eat it in secret or openly, this we completely repudiate. For we do not wish any of the brothers privately to possess any thing either great or small, or to receive anything from another person or to give something to another even if he is one of the poorest. For no one should be unaware that there will be no praise for such things; this is a work of the devil and outside the law and it destroys obedience to the rule.

For whenever someone does not have the power to be master of himself how will he control anything else as if it were his own? How does the man who has become subservient to all of his own interests care for those which are not his own? For the man who has denied himself and his own will (cf. Luke 9:23) once and has fallen under the service of righteousness then acts in accordance with his own wishes, what else is it except that he has been freed from righteousness and become a slave to sin? What help will this man be to Christ when he concocts a private righteousness and is not subject to the righteousness of God? How can he be regarded as a charitable and hospitable man whenever he does not put up with the lack of even the smallest things but instead of the article which he will give the poor he will ask for some other new one from the superior to replace the old one which he gave to the poor, wickedly exchanging the useless and the useful? Is there not that you acted not out of generosity and love for the poor but through love of gain and covetousness whenever you yourself, the new and compassionate lover of the poor, loved their need and accepted to be cold and go naked through love for your neighbor? And so in the end would you escape condemnation?

A person should follow rather the direction of the superior and consider this alone to be the law and command and divine injunction, and think that praise is not a thing to be praised and be aware that hospitality [p. 51] is a shared quality and that gifts are given jointly on behalf of all. So the person who does not abide by this but attempts rather more, reckoning on disturbing the heavenly obedience, will be reckoned as no true son and an alien to the brotherhood and if he does not mend his ways he will be thrust out from the holy dwelling.

Chapter Five

Concerning how the superior should be chosen and appointed and after the first superior, concerning how the second should be called to the same ministry and service of the monastery.

More truly and indeed more forcefully than all and before all [must be considered the matter] of all who in turn are going to act as superiors—I speak of what is fitting for the orderly existence of the brotherhood of the monastery about matters which concern me very much. Because of this, exercising all my thought and examining everything and after discussion, I found this to be right and a way rid of all disorder, that while I the founder of the aforesaid monastery am alive, whomsoever I install as superior of the monastery shall be so, and if he lives in righteousness according to the command drawn up by us, he shall remain in leadership until the end of his life. For whenever the superior in office at the time draws near to death, he himself installs the one to be superior after him who is going to shepherd the brotherhood. He appoints this man not because of kinship or any physical attachment but by the choice and testimony of the brotherhood. At the time of [the superior's] death [the superior-elect], [being a man] of ability and intelligence, will have to be most discerning and impartial and thus he will be entrusted with the office of superior through which he is going to lead the brotherhood, having come to this calling not of his own will but by the observance and regulation that I have mentioned above. For I wish them to carry out such an installation in this way but not contrary to the wish of the superior who is about to die.

After the resignation and the departure from this life of the first superior, the second one will have his authority with the advice of all the rest of the brothers of this monastery—and this I repeat, after the death of the superior—in the way that the office of the superior has been clearly explained by us and decreed. But if perhaps it ever happens that the shepherd of the flock is suddenly snatched away as is usually the way and did not have the chance to carry out what has been laid down, then they should appoint the superior by the judgment and with the approval [p. 53] of the better and virtuous and more learned brothers from the brotherhood.

Once again we turn to the superior-elect, that is the new superior, who should live and abide by the leadership of the dead one. Once he has been proposed and appointed with the consent of the superior, this is the way he establishes his leadership. When the superior dies, that is goes away to the Lord, and all the brotherhood has been gathered in the presence of the one about to die and the one who is going to be honored after him, the previous superior hands over to him his leadership in accordance with the rule laid down by us, so that they may all live together according to it and have no power to regulate anything on their own.

On the third day after the burial of the former superior, the recently appointed superior must do the following things: he must complete a night vigil and on the next day after the completion of the divine mystery the recently consecrated superior must stand in front of the holy altar, the whole brotherhood in the order of their rank kneeling to him and embracing him in turn. Then when those who have been called and have attached themselves to the Lord are thus happy, a bountiful table will be set before them. Binding them with an oath I say the same things, that the one who has gained the leadership must preside over the flock with kindness, showing the sincerest kind of righteousness towards the brotherhood in Christ Jesus our Lord "who searcheth hearts and reins" (Ps. 7:9), sharper than any sword "piercing to the division of soul and body" (Heb.

4:12) and "rendering to every man according to his works" (Rom. 2:6). He should introduce nothing unworthy and unseemly into his flock entrusted to him by Christ, that is the brotherhood for whom he did not labor nor yet suffer hardship not even with personal "toil" (II Cor. 11:27) so as to say like the great apostle Paul, "the lazy man should not eat" (II Thess. 3:10) but he must do everything as if the Son of God himself were watching.

In this way he should carry out all the administration and abstain from all innovation and righteously do what is right. It is enough for them [the superiors] that they have pleasure in things they have not toiled for and in the sweat and labors of others, and where others have suffered hardship with the greatest zeal and the greatest labors, the fruits of which those who have tried know them for certain by, they themselves have now been thought worthy to share in all these without toil and without innovations. [p. 55] Therefore they should give thanks to God worthily and remember us unceasingly as being responsible for these their good things.

They will behave worthily and they will be grateful throughout their lives and thus they should give thanks to the Savior of all that they did not weary themselves traveling about searching for a most beautiful and fertile place. We however underwent this hardship, rushing up and down and traveling to every place among our possessions. While examining all these places and seeking a restful place for a dwelling of brothers, we did not find a more suitable or pleasing one than this. So divine providence working with us thought us entirely worthy of these good things in the first place to find this very pleasing and beautiful retreat. In every way it is most agreeable and furthermore it is very rich in all useful things. It contains in one place all necessities and season by season readily offers each person their use, readily supplying, I assert, the use of spiritual and bodily benefits and, to speak boldly, it is a place like that divine paradise where the most delightful life that was lived by the first man was straightforward, without hardship, and without care there.

This is especially so whenever anyone looks on the beauty of this wonderful and famous church, its decoration and hangings, the emanating sweet fragrance and delight of spiritual grace, the sweet-sounding and harmonious singing of the chants, the traditions that help the soul, guiding it along the most royal of roads, the journey that leads to tranquility and eternal life, and the variety and excellence of the fine things of all kinds which accompany these through which those who stand at the right side of the impartial Judge in the universal theater form an idea of the permanent blessings which they are to enjoy.

Since this is so and all these benefits have become your possession in this way without toil, how should you not thus live a life without sorrow and disorder, and with the most sincere mind sail the very turbulent sea of life with the sweetest wafting from the lightest breezes? Should you not live like the prophets of God who gaze on the divine throne or even the apostles, "scorning," as Job says, "the crowded cities" (Job 39:7) and despising the voices of the tax-collectors?

More important than all this is that whoever is the superior should in everything be an example by his way of life especially in the matter of having no private possessions. For everything [p. 57] in the monastery is his so he can devote himself to prayers and supplications, adhere to the teaching contained in scripture, and apply himself to watching over the brothers, considering these things more valuable and loftier, as the holy apostle says, "with the weapons of righteousness for right hand and left, in honor and dishonor, in ill repute and good repute, treated as

impostors and yet true" (II Cor. 6:7–8). So by "keeping the commands" (I Cor. 7:19) he will be kept safe for the promised life of righteousness and blessedness.

He should show love equally to all, both the old and the young, with the "love of Christ" (II Cor. 5:14) bearing with the faint-hearted and the lazy and, I must add, with the grumblers who are the most annoying and unbearable. For those who bear with them will gain a great reward and become "imitators of God" (Eph. 5:1). After all this, again I give this instruction that any man who has a large number of relatives should not become superior in this my monastery. We forbid this also, that any relative or servant of the superior should be performing any function either in the monastery or in places outside, whether villages, monasteries, or any other places.

Chapter Six

Concerning the amount and number of the monks which has been laid down by us to be unfailing and how many of them should work and serve.

So it is our duty to legislate about the number of the monks as follows. Since God the maker of good things, who has formed the nature of men and created the material for all that exists from what formerly did not, has settled the order and rank for each of these with all wisdom and no one supposes that anything is more pleasing or more fitting than their creation, I wish the number of the monks to be up to fifty and the superior to be in addition to them as long as they are adorned with every virtue and shining with divine grace. I do not wish them to be less than fifty in number. I wish the superior to be over and above the fifty, as has been said. I bind by oath the successive superiors in this monastery never to disregard their aforesaid number, but if a [p. 59] decrease in their number should occur through death or some other reasonable chance cause, they should fill up their specified number so that the praise of God and the most earnest prayer to him should never be seen to be feeble. The form of hymn-singing will be very harmonious and unceasing, adorned with godly fear and accompanied with fitting attention and observance.

Out of this number of fifty-one, one is the superior who must be filled with all knowledge and understanding, virtue, fear, and love of God. Two others of them should be administrators, one within the boundaries of Philippoupolis, the other in the districts of Mosynopolis and the areas situated close to this.[15] Another of them should be an ecclesiarch filled with knowledge and having a thorough experience of divine ecclesiastic practices, not lacking in knowledge of the established ritual laid down at the beginning. Six of them should be priests carrying out the divine liturgy, and two should be deacons usually celebrating the liturgy with them, and two others to be sub-deacons active in reading and leading the choir.

Another of them, equally adorned with understanding, experience, fear of God, and love, should be sacristan and treasurer, having the care and keeping of all the sacred treasures of the holy church, also controlling the receiving and paying out of money gathered from everywhere from all kinds of revenues, as if he was going to render account not only to those prominent in the holy monastery but also to Christ our God himself.

Another should be a lamplighter, under the ecclesiarch, dispensing the incense, the oil, the candles, the wine of the offering, and the flour from which the offering of bread is usually made, and he will issue all these things in the fear of God at the proper time. But in the great and distin-

guished feasts of our Lord at which the service and ministry of the holy church will be increased, it is the duty of the superior to command certain others from the same brotherhood to help and give the necessary assistance to the one continually carrying out the lighting of the lamps.

Another should be a cellarer, called *tanouteres* by the Georgians,[16] who according to the regulation of the monks and monasteries must without deceit and offense keep in his possession the bread and all the food supplies and the seasoning, olive oil, wine, and honey, and things like these and must himself issue these carefully at the proper time in the fear of God. Another should be a [p. 61] wine-steward carrying out this service prudently in the fear of God. Another should be a refectorian fulfilling the position of this person in the customary way.

Another should be guest-master and another to tend the old and be infirmarian taking good and wise care of them. Another should be an overseer, being chosen for his virtue and fear of God, whose duty it is to go round the cells of the brothers, and those who were absent from the holy service and did not arrive at the beginning of matins, while the six psalms were still being sung, he should take to the superior and the body of the brotherhood so that each of them may pay the appointed penalty according to custom and the rule. Another should be a baker and another a cook and another a gatekeeper, each of these carrying out his service prudently, carefully and with pious diligence.

All the rest of the brotherhood should spend their time in singing the hymns of the holy church with eagerness, care, and delight both at night and during the day. All these should be "of the same mind and spirit" (Phil. 2:2; I Pet. 3:8), unanimous, always grounded in godly fear and adorned with "love for one another" (I Thess. 3:12) and obedience to their superior for the help and maintenance of the most holy monastery often mentioned by us. So let no one dare to oppose their superior in any way or speak against him when he is giving instruction in divine mysteries in imitation of Christ and like a teacher giving advice for the benefit of the holy church, for the maintenance of the monastery, and for the edification of the souls of the holy brotherhood.

Chapter Seven

Concerning those who officiate as priests, how they should be chosen or carry out the divine priesthood.

The brothers and their superior should with a search make a selection very carefully and they should ordain those who are saintly and virtuous and who fear the Lord completely in every way for the rites of the divine mysteries so that through them our bountiful God and Savior Jesus Christ may grant salvation to our souls. But if one of those acting as priests is rude and arrogant and has fallen short in a serious and shameless manner, he should be debarred from the priesthood and another appointed in his place carrying out the divine priestly office with dignity, but the other should be appointed in another place outside the monastery and after he has shown [p. 63] repentance he should gain compassion and mercy and be put in the same category as the brothers who are not priests. On this point I adjure you and admonish you before God in no way to allow anyone to act as priest in our holy church unworthily—and this should be guarded against strictly by you, fathers and brothers—and in addition to this I urge you to carry out your examinations strictly lest

through jealousy or hatred or any other of the passions that destroy the soul one of the priests should be falsely slandered and undergo abominations unjustly. It is a special transgression if a man worthy of honor undergoes dishonor because of envy. So the enquiry into these matters should take place with a strict examination and the one who is clearly convicted and of a shameless character should be driven from the divine priesthood and likewise from the holy monastery.

It was right that the priest who receives all his necessities from the holy church and is supported by it should perform the divine mystery for us and for those for whom we sanction it; yet for the greater benefit of those officiating as priests we make a distinction in this way, as has been set out below, that on the distinguished and famous holy feasts they should carry out the holy liturgies on our behalf and that of our people in all the churches as we have instructed, and similarly on three days of the week—Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. For much earlier it was specified that a celebration of the eucharist should take place for us on Sunday. If anyone has received anything from someone for a liturgy for people of whom the superior and ecclesiarch will approve, let the divine celebrations take place. But the remaining three days of the week belong to the priests and they should carry out the divine celebration for those they wish.

Chapter Eight

Concerning the preparation of the table and the good behavior and silence of those serving.

The activity around the table and the work of those serving should be carried out with decorum. As we have laid down a limit for food and drink, by that and what is settled here, we make everything quite clear as the explanation advances concerning those being served and those serving, concerning those sitting down to the meal and those standing by serving and furthermore concerning the overseers and administrators and concerning the appointment and the orderliness of these people. Thus those who stand and walk around the table should step about without noise and those who sit down at the meal should eat their food in silence with the result that everything will be to the glory of God [p. 65] and “seasoned with good salt” (Col. 4:6).

As for the seating—which is a matter for us to speak of—the superior should organize this, making it his aim that no confusion or disorder should arise nor that they, regarding someone as a stranger, should ignore him to the harm of each other and their own souls, as the holy apostle says “let no one seek his own interest but each that of his neighbor” (I Cor. 10:24), so that he may be saved, being exalted by such an attitude, and more so because of the command of the Lord which says “he who humbles himself will be exalted” (Luke 18:14). Further they should maintain securely the reading which usually takes place at the table and the pleasant and restrained silence and they should show their scrupulous conformity not only in these matters but always in everything, both in houses and outside, and they should live virtuously like this in the whole of their lives.

The bread and wine and the customary daily foods should not be changed, whether those in charge are remiss through niggardliness or they plead as an excuse the arrival of some monks, nor should they alter what has been prescribed by us, but the food which we have prescribed will be set forth without fail, that is, cheese will be set out on four days of the week as we prescribed, and it should not be withheld except only during the three fasts. Neither do we wish any of the four measures of wine to be withheld from each brother. We prescribe that three dishes should be

provided for the brothers each day of whatever the providence of God supplies. But on Easter Sunday we prescribe that the table should be more lavish, for they will be tired and hungry having completed a vigil the previous night. Furthermore, during the days of the Holy Pentecost and after the saving birth of our Lord Jesus Christ until Epiphany, called the twelve days, there should be four courses set out for the brothers during these days. For supper on the twelve days we mentioned and the fifty leading up to Pentecost cheese should be set out for the brothers and whatever else divine providence supplies and two measures of wine for each of them. But if the superior of the time having the oversight and discretion considers it necessary to add something else to the food of the brothers, he should have this power with a view to blunting the impulses of those who favor indulgence.

If any item of food is brought into the monastery from the produce of an estate, or from flocks, or from some other pious people whether given by relatives of the superior or of the brothers, or from important friends as a refreshment, [p. 67] this item should be handed over to the cellarer and should be eaten at the table by the community of brothers, or he who received this gift of food could bring it to the table himself and offer it to the brotherhood.

It is right that this should not go unmentioned, namely that those who are visiting in this holy monastery either the superior or one of the brotherhood through friendship or family connection, such a person should not be sent away hungry, but if such a person is present at the time of a meal, the brother to whom he has come should take such a person with him. But if the time of eating for the brothers has passed or the visitor being eager to depart does not wish to wait until the time of the meal, there should be the customary provision of refreshment from the cellarer for this person as is appropriate. For a brother is not allowed to entertain his friend in his cell and offer such a person a meal. If the friend is a monk it is appropriate that this person should stay for three days and on the fourth day they should provide him with supplies as is appropriate and thus send him on his way.[17] If some sickness should happen to strike the friend, they should keep him and look after him until he is completely rid of his illness. But if he should die in the monastery they should bury this person with psalms, hymns, and prayers and gain the reward for him from the God of all things.

Chapter Nine

Concerning the clothes of the brotherhood and the payment for them and how they should be distributed to the brotherhood by the superior, also concerning shoes.

After this we have taken pains to be concerned also about payment for clothes, and not only that but also about shoes and all other necessities. For this will come from the giving of allowances even if perhaps the expenditure turns out to be rather more. Therefore it seemed a pleasing idea to us to make provision for each member each year according to his own rank so that the brothers should have no excuse for going out of the monastery for such necessities, whether to buy something or to procure sandals, and be at the doors of leather-workers or other people and with this excuse incur harm, but rather they will be constantly at their prayers, hymns, and the rest of their services to the holy church carrying out the whole of their obligation.

So if it were possible that there should be a distribution of clothes following the custom of the most holy monastery of [p. 69] *Panagios* as prescribed above, nothing else could be better

than this or more fitting. But because of the passage and instability of time we have prescribed that it should happen as we will now go on to say. There should be three orders of brothers and they should receive allowances. The superior of the monastery should receive 36 *nomismata*. The older priests along with the two administrators, the ecclesiarch, the sacristan, and as many as are notable among the brothers and of similar status to him—up to the number of 15—will be called the first order and each of them should get 20 *nomismata*. The second order too should likewise be 15 men and each of these should get 15 *nomismata*. The third order should be made up of 20 souls and each of these should get 10 *nomismata*. The full amount of their allowance should be in standard *trachy* coinage.

Since all the revenues of every kind are gathered during the month of September and the demands are dealt with then, the brothers could have received the cost of their clothes then too. But for this reason, namely so that the brothers, on the pretext of buying clothes and doing business, should not be compelled to travel too far, depart from the monastery, and neglect their service to it and their praying, we have ruled that they should receive these declared allowances, i.e., the cost of their clothes, at the time of the glorious resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ on Easter Sunday, when it has also been fixed that a fair be held beside the most holy monastery so that all of them may purchase their necessities. For everything that is necessary will readily be found at this fair.

Chapter Ten

Concerning the three holy periods of fasting and that all should fast in purity and perform acts of mercy to all each day.

During the three holy fasts they must fast without wine and olive oil except on Saturdays and Sundays on which they will all drink one cupful each for refreshment. In the gateway of the monastery each day sustenance must be distributed to their brothers in Christ, that is [p. 71] the poor. For they are the means of our salvation and secure the good things which are to come. But on Saturdays and Sundays during the great [Lenten] fast the food and the things that have been decreed should be provided and they should receive the measures of wine without fail. However they should not eat fish and for the five days of the week they should not have the seasoning of olive oil. On Tuesday and Thursday they should drink wine, one measure each. During the fast for the holy birth of Christ our God they will dine once in the day and then at the ninth hour, except on the days when we sing “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) and so forth, then let us drink two measures of wine each. In each week we should abstain from olive oil for three days. During the fast of the Holy Apostles in the same way let us spend three days without olive oil and let all of us dine together once in the day and then at the seventh hour and let us drink two measures of wine each and one in the evening.

Chapter Eleven

Concerning the feast of our holy church and the other famous and glorious feasts of our Lord and the special saints that they should celebrate them splendidly.

It has been decreed by us that the feast of the very holy Mother of God—her sacred and honored Dormition—should be celebrated in our church on the fifteenth of August as follows. We

wish them joyfully to celebrate this world-wide festival of the Dormition of the Mother of God in reverence and splendor as is done in the famous and greatest churches. Also the anniversaries of holy martyrs along with all the rest of the saints should fail in no way and likewise the distribution to the poor, as we have prescribed among the festivals and the established anniversaries of the dead.[18] But the feast of the revered Dormition of the very holy Mother of God should be honored even more, and in this connection I bind with an oath those who will succeed me not to fail in anything that is fitting but if possible in their devotion to the festival to make it even more splendid. For those who celebrate festivals in a splendid and zealous manner will gain great benefits and will be reckoned worthy of eternal gifts and will come to share divine grace.[19] They should also celebrate the remaining festivals.

Chapter Twelve

Concerning the lighting of our holy churches, how it should be carried out, and concerning prayer, that it should be offered without distraction.

It is our duty to maintain continuously throughout each day and night three lamps in front of the icon of the very holy Mother of God [p. 73] and one lamp in the great sanctuary and before the holy sanctuary on the screen,[20] one lamp before the crucifix of the Savior and one lamp before the holy icon of the forerunner John the Baptist and one lamp before the icon of St. George and three lamps at our tomb.[21] Also at each time of psalm-singing during the whole year, that is at matins, in the divine liturgy, and during vespers, along with all the lamps I have mentioned candles should be lit to burn continuously until the dismissal. After that, the candles should be extinguished but the lamps should remain burning continuously right through. Furthermore, before the [icons of the] twelve feasts of our Lord on each day at the time of hymn-singing twelve lamps should be lit until the dismissal. But in the famous and great feasts all the lamps in the holy church should be lit and all the candlesticks should be full of lit candles. During the holy festival of our holy church there should be a great abundance of lighting, and the festival and assembly should be great and very renowned with hymns and fragrances and a splendid table adorned with all the good things which the goodness of our God has given us.

Therefore whatever traditions are customary and have been prescribed for the glory of God, they must carry them out and fulfill them continuously without fail like some inescapable debt, and they should always heed the commands of God without faltering so that as they are mutually observed and passed on from one to another they will maintain securely, more than all that has been laid down, the divine glorifying of God in accordance with the rule handed down to us and the ordinance which the most pious brothers of the holy monastery of *Panagios* observe both at matins, in the daily singing of hymns, and furthermore, following their customary tradition, in the peaceful prayers during compline, and in all the night hymn-singing and reciting of psalms. The order for carrying out the divine sacraments should also be observed in the same way, except that the choirs should not snatch up the verses hastily from each other in reciting the psalms, but one choir should wait until the one that has begun its verse finishes it and stops at the end of it, then it should begin its own verse, and so the singing should take place in a pious and reverent manner.

Henceforth the one who transgresses the command should know that he falls under the patristic curse as one who has despised not only our command but also the threat of God and that

he has been excluded from the covenants of God. We write these things not to those who are negligent on an occasion by reason of some infirmity or those who are engaged in the comfort and service of the brotherhood, either receiving guests who have come [p. 75] or having a responsibility for the poor, but we are trying to drive away deliberate neglect considering this to be a clear transgression of the monastic law. In accordance with this monastic law [we urge] the monks to live always in harmonious silence and more so at the time of the divine service during which of necessity silence should be observed and no one should continue speaking to other people, whether it is convenient or inconvenient, or laughing even with the merest smile, or addressing anyone and in this way hindering or disturbing the holy singing and assisting the evil spirits whose job it is to do this and support those doing it. They should not be distracted at all nor be continually changing their feet through indolence or foolishness, but should offer their praises to God in reverence and in a holy and calm attitude of body and soul. But if some are seen deliberately disregarding what has been said, let them be subject to the penalties laid down by the holy fathers. They must also perform an all-night vigil till matins on Sunday.

Chapter Thirteen

Concerning the duty of the brotherhood to confess each day to the superior the thoughts that have occurred to them, their words and their deeds if they have done anything.

It is the duty of the superior to examine the thoughts of everyone and in no way to despise those who are disturbed and distressed by their thoughts but he should examine them, if it is possible, through the whole day, correct their failings and cleanse them from every defilement of flesh and spirit. Also the brothers should reveal to the superior everything that concerns them in faith and with a contrite heart in simplicity of soul, and they should not go away somewhere else and confess to someone else like bastards and not true sons and with worthlessness and wickedness debase their confession.[22] For the superior ought to know the thoughts of all, and not just this but also their steadfast actions, and they must not reveal these to anyone else but the superior alone, as has been said. Nor should any of the brothers turn away and do something following his own wish without the decision and choosing of the superior, and of his own will take on a task and become the agent of his own death. He will become an example [p. 77] of insubordination for the others through the superior not knowing the thinking behind his decisions and he himself not being able to correct himself without his help. For each person has his own faculty to choose though not knowing how to choose the good with discernment. For one must serve with different people at different times, yet in all this there is need for wisdom and the finest guiding discretion of the one who knows how to administer scrupulously.

So whenever the brothers become insubordinate and choose the way of their own desires, how will they be called most loyal sons of their father, that is the superior? For they have deliberately alienated themselves from him and have been deprived of their father's inheritance and will put themselves far from the divine confession; and "he who is not faithful in something little" (Luke 16:10) will also fail in the great commands and it is likely that in these people the saying of the apostle will be fulfilled which says, "if the unbeliever desires to separate, let it be so" (I Cor. 7:15), and like the parable of the fig tree which says, "why should you use up the ground" (Luke 13:7) and cause pointless toil to the farmer? I say there is no worse calamity than this, when

someone is found insubordinate to the superior himself and speaks improperly in his presence. So such a person should be removed from the community so that he will not become an evil example to his fellow-brothers and those of his own age and a teacher of "disobedience" (Heb. 4:11), since he does not act in accordance with "the will of the Lord" (Eph. 5:17) but always follows his own will.

Chapter Fourteen

Concerning manual labor and toil and that we ought to sing psalms during work.

Those doing some physical work should not be prevented from singing hymns but while they are at work with their hands they should offer up psalms with their mouth. For this is a mystical incense-offering and acceptable according to the divine teaching of Basil the great bishop of Caesarea and a very swift summoner of angelic [p. 79] help.[23] For in the houses of the rich there are many "vessels, some of gold and others of earthenware" (II Tim. 2:20). For this reason the superior needs much wisdom to show [the brothers] the "way of righteousness" (II Pet. 2:21). For our "entrance into the kingdom" (II Pet. 1:11) of heaven is by one of various roads. For one person is successful in this, another in that and yet another in everything. Some the superior must rebuke, others he must admonish, and from yet others he must cut away the scars with the piercing sword of examination. But he must do all this with moderation and at the right time, and assign others to work and physical toil—people whose characters are not reliable nor hearts repentant. So willingly or not he must bring such people close to God through labors; for a soul that is fond of work is near to God and will find a cure early (cf. Is. 58:8).

Chapter Fifteen

Concerning the rule that the brothers should not go outside the monastery or leave it without the command of the superiors.

Those of the brotherhood who do not live quietly should not be allowed to go about wherever they wish in the vanity of their mind, but those who are bold with such a habit should be persuaded to remain at home appropriately in accordance with the command of the divine and holy rule. I urge that they be trained not only for this reason but also because of every other action which contains an element of lawlessness and disobedience, that as is fitting they will live together scrupulously. For a necessity is imposed on all shepherds not to cross the appointed boundaries and it is necessary that [the superior] should tend his spiritual flock in this way and discipline those who have slipped with a view to repentance and care about them from the depth of his heart and spirit, suffering along with them as if they were his own limbs so that they may not be liable to the just judgment of God. All that has been laid down by the superior is law, and those subordinate to him must pay attention to all his utterances as to the divine laws themselves and consider none unimportant or make distinctions in his utterances or contradict him or oppose him in any other way. For all these things are proof of disobedience and independence and furthermore of indiscipline which is the confusion and destruction of obedience and discernment, and just judgment for these actions will come on those who practice such things. [p. 81]

Therefore it is with the approval of God that I must say these things. For I do not wish

anyone else to rule them nor yet that the law of submission be destroyed. For a monk is not allowed to utter anything in the presence of the superior other than "I have sinned, Father, pardon me." "Peace and mercy" (Gal. 6:16) to those who live as monks in this way and observe this rule. But if any of the brothers is proved to be unwilling to live according to the terms of the rule but opposes it and considers the reproof of the superior harsh and unhelpful and does not consider his rebuke to be for his own help and benefit, fighting against his shepherd and doctor and not accepting his reproof, and therefore fights against him either in secret or openly—this is the very thing I do not want, for such a person will be possessed by the devil, intoxicating his neighbor with his foul drink, which often brings about a rift and separation in "the body of the church" (Col. 1:18). If such a person remains without improvement, then it is better that after the first and second and third piece of advice and rebuke he be cut off like a rotten limb and be far away from the divine flock.

In addition to this it is necessary for the steward of souls, that is the superior, to know how to care for them with watchfulness and forbearance and thus, as Paul says, "to test everything" and pick out what is better and "abstain from every form of evil" (I Thess. 5:21–22) "trespass" (Gal. 6:1) and not disregard anyone with some small sin in order to prevent "the small piece of leaven leavening the whole lump" (I Cor. 5:6). Again, suppose that someone attempts great acts of abstinence, choosing by himself and showing contempt for the standard laid down by the holy fathers, which they first handed on to us by choice and with careful examination according to their divine traditions—the true, unerring, and moderate path—that is the cutting out of one's own will, for the self-willed person is always in error lacking experience and is unreliable. Now the rules of submission have been tested, by reason and time, by everyone and will remain unchanged.

The superior, therefore, must not tolerate men who are so disposed. As for those who make a show of themselves and hypocritically parade themselves in public and those who practice abstinence without the consent of their brethren and [p. 83] without the approval of their superior and who make a show of themselves in public with a view to persuading those who see them with the pretense of their prayer and of being different from others before them (?)—[those who see these men] will be beguiled and deceived and in this way they will admire those against whom we must "contend". . . will be beguiled and deceived in this way to their consternation. Against these men "we contend" (Eph. 6:12) and fight as the holy apostle says. For such a man is darkness and pretends to be light. This is enough of a warning for us. For concerning these matters we have been clearly instructed by the holy and revered monastery of *Panagios*, and from there we should learn, we who wish to do so.

Again I say [the superior] must deliberate with regard to all without distinction and counsel them all and guide them towards goodness and raise their minds from earthly sins so that everything may take place according to his decision and suggestion and through their close relationship with God. For everything that does not bring them near to him is useless. I say this too, that they must keep their minds above all wicked thoughts and that from here the road of wickedness and goodness begins. They should keep themselves away from wickedness and always advance in goodness from which so great a harvest of goodness and righteousness is produced, as the great trumpet [St. Paul] of Tarsus proclaims. What then is this? "Love, joy, peace, patience, goodness" (Gal. 5:22) and the rest. For self-willed people who practice abstinence for show, who in

appearances have the semblance of dignity, on those people madness comes and flourishes strongly in them and will be displayed to those outside who follow in empty fancy. “Their end” (Phil. 3:19) comes through laxity, and such a man seems to have a great opinion of himself, and this is more harmful than the whole business.

For what is really not virtue persuades those who only see it that it is virtue, as some of the fathers declared and as also the prophet says, “If anyone bends down his neck as a ring and spreads under him sackcloth and ashes, I have not chosen such a fast [saith the Lord]. But break thy bread to the hungry and lead the unsheltered poor to thy house, clothe the naked and do not disregard the relations of thine own seed” (Is. 58:5–7). For as much as “anyone humbles himself, so much will he be exalted” (cf. Matt. 23:12), in amount just like the abundance of irresistible seawater quietly increasing the cultivation of righteousness. As much as anyone calls himself to account so much will he be exalted, for humility teaches a person all the more to examine his faults, look only at himself and condemn himself. For this is the law of our fathers [p. 85] and the means of entry into the kingdom of heaven. For this will send us to “the place” of rest (Rev. 12:6) that has been made ready so as to “give a portion not only to seven but even to eight” (Eccl. 11:2), according to the word of Solomon. For the word of the Lord refers to this which says, “learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart and you will find rest for your souls. Take my yoke upon you and learn that my yoke is easy and my burden light” (Matt. 11:29–30). So that God will not only bestow on us the good things in the afterlife but he also gives us our present blessings and guides our way for the one who does his will. We must reckon up all the guidance of God and commit to him all our life and set God in our mind so that “our place will be in peace and our dwelling place in Sion and there the Lord will break the power of the bows” (Ps. 75 [76]:5). Faith, hope, love, and the desire for divine love are there. A light is there because “Thou doest shine forth from everlasting mountains” (Ps. 75 [76]:5).

So concerning the table in the house and the good conduct of those ministering and the common orderliness and arrangement and all the rest of the management, let this much be said with God’s blessing as has been laid down by us.[24] On the matter of the regulations for the church and its offices it is clear to all and I will speak briefly.[25] For it is necessary to perform the ministry of the priesthood with love and watchfulness day and night continuously according to the grace of God and the gift given by the Savior to each tongue according to its own sound in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever, Amen.

Chapter Sixteen

Advice about the administrators of the monastery.

Again, following on what has already been said, I give this instruction too urging it with an oath and I prescribe this to my brothers in love, the ones in our monastery, that they do not allow this holy monastery to be without administrators. But it is our particular wish that selected and experienced men should have the administration. After the death of these, others must be chosen from the brotherhood, reverent ones with the fear of God, whether they be from the clergy or from the lay people. Those who receive this power should be from among those who love God, [p. 87] being people whom the monks will appoint to the control both of the monastery and of their own souls. But I do not want the monks to be without administrators (nor yet without a superior) so that

they may not only maintain without alteration the spiritual order as laid down by us, but they will also take care of material things to keep them securely, and of those who serve in the monastery, that they will not lack anything that is necessary.

Chapter Seventeen

It is necessary to give an aim and an instruction concerning eunuchs and young boys.

Concerning eunuchs, that is those called *thladiai*, and young boys, since many of the holy fathers kept them from the sacrament of the church to prevent offense and in the beginning laid it down to remain so for ever, such a person should not be received in the monastery on the pretext of some service or ministry. For irreverent disobedience will be seen in this. For I speak fittingly since often the fathers in the *sketis* proclaimed clearly, "Do not bring young boys here, for how many churches have been defiled through them?"[26] But we neither leave these as an object of offense to those after us, both superiors and subordinates, nor do we allow them to receive any such on any pretext whatsoever since they have a blameworthy reputation. Let us not grant wickedness an entry. Though, prior to this regulating ordinance of ours,[27] we legislated particularly on the impropriety of this matter, our ordinance has maintained the same (principle) and seems to be right in taking as its target a pressing and serious error. So what has been rejected once from sacred regulations we ought in no way to take back. Therefore enjoin these people, that is the superiors and administrators in this holy monastery after us, and bind by oath the whole brotherhood too by Christ our God himself, and his immaculate [p. 89] Mother, never to accept anything else that lies outside this regulation of ours and the tradition of the fathers for the management of this matter on whatever pretext, not only to the ruin of their souls and to share the greatest condemnation of the fathers, but also to become liable to the most just sentence of divine judgment itself.

Chapter Eighteen

That our monastery should be free from all official and violent force or exaction of any other kind.

I wish our present most holy monastery to be free from all those who wish to seize it by force, all strangers and our relatives, those alive now and those who will come after us, also the legatees and executors of our bequests and all other people of any kind, as none of them has the right individually or together to bring disturbance of any kind on it, nor yet to take away any of the possessions decreed to our holy church or any of the people living in them in any way, even down to the least important object. If any of our relations is discovered to be without a legacy through an oversight or some other such reason and is very insistent that he get a share, we rid this person in every way of this wicked notion and decree that he should receive twelve *folleis* only as a bequest from our administrators and should cease from this shameless insistence. For I have this holy church and the most holy monastery around it as my appointed and substitute heir, as I have explained clearly and in detail above and in what follows.

For I have offered this most holy monastery with all in it as a gift to God, the maker and sustainer of all things, for my life and my very sinful soul, to be self-governing and free from all force of every kind both from our relatives and from strangers, quite simply from any sort of

person. Nor should even the smallest of the things placed as the property of this holy monastery be transferred or taken away either by the decision of its superiors or through the deceit and treachery of any of its monks. Nor should the monks in this monastery be subject to some other person, whether a servant or relative of ours or a stranger, or give him an opportunity to have authority over anything whatsoever in it. For I wish the superior and the rest of the brothers only to rule and have authority in it, [p. 91] as has been said above and as the words of the chrysobulls make clear, and each of them to spend his time at his own task, as the present *typikon* specifies, and to pray for our pious, mighty, and holy emperors, the army devoted to Christ, and for my sinful soul and its salvation.

So, may no one have the power to lay a destructive hand on the property in the holy monastery nor may the monks be subject to anyone. For I am setting up this holy monastery as a dwelling and for the maintenance and peace of the monks and I wish it to be for ever independent and self-governing on the basis of what has been said above, with the superiors maintaining for their periods of office the suitable care, management, and regulating of it. For we have acted and prescribed in this manner, not like some who set up monasteries or some other kind of hallowed place and put it under the authority of their relatives in succession after the death of the founder. May it not happen that we should act like this or have such an intention at all and provide an excuse for opposition and strife among them, introducing hatred and an excuse for lawsuits, with each of those who have been renounced calling himself the lord and master of those in the monastery, as we have often seen such people contesting in the law-courts; and such things progressively get worse, for often the unworthy among such people are preferred to the worthy in a legal decision and unjust men are selected in preference to just ones. Wherefore I do not wish this place which is consecrated to God to be conferred on my relations or anyone else.

If anyone will be seen, whether of our genuine relatives or of those called such or of our men, wishing to set himself up against my church or monastery or the villages in its control or the forts and hamlets in any way whatsoever or wishing to build a house or what is called a *stalion*, that is a refuge, in the forts and to live in them or is seen plundering the money collected from those places in any way whatever, or making a despicable profit by some important or trifling means or is causing trouble there by just a mere word or intention, first he should have the curse of the 318 inspired holy fathers who met at Nicaea and be anathematized and expelled from the Christian faith and counted with Judas Iscariot. Also whatever will have been given him by me, whether movable, immovable, or animate property, this holy church of mine and the monastery around it has the power to take it away from this person and set it up as its own.

If anyone of those holding the position of superior in this our monastery, or any of the monks in it, [p. 93] is discovered transgressing anything from this *typikon* or being in possession of any of the things consecrated in this our monastery with deceitful intention or assisting one of our relatives or strangers to steal something or to establish his authority [in the monastery] or to gain access to it altogether, then drawing the same curse upon himself he will be driven out of it, condemned as a traitor and a transgressor of what is recorded in our present *typikon*.

I pray that none of my relatives will be so ungrateful. For I treated all of them well, bringing them up and raising them to the prime of life, not because of any obligation or because any of them had a justifiable claim but only through God's command and the physical relationship I had

with them. For our father of happy memory died suddenly a long time ago and left us very small and young, and our mother through her womanly nature put all his possessions into necessities for her children and into dowries for our sisters and left us destitute with our hands empty of all our father's money and, what is more, of her own, that is of our mother's money. Our sisters went off with their dowries to their husbands in different places and I spent a very long time traveling in Armenia and Georgia and Syria and visiting the Roman Empire too, seeking to provide for my own life. I gained all these things, namely possessions and money and honors, with the help of God and through the holy prayers of my parents, and they came about through the circumstances and misfortunes which I faced, by labors and my blood which I spilt, and not by the help or mediation of anyone else.

Furthermore all my relatives and my people have gained glory and benefits because of my own toil and service and the favor of our revered emperors towards me and my position of honor, and I have given a legacy to certain of my relations or will still do so. But the things decreed to my holy church and those that will be decreed are alike my own property and I have given all my personal possessions to whomsoever I have given them. Besides, whatever favor I did for my relatives dead or alive I did for the salvation of my soul, not using other men's property or gifts.

So for all these reasons I wished that my holy monastery should exist, now and in the future, in every way free from everyone, from my relatives or strangers and other people of all kinds, even from the imperial and patriarchal classes, as was decreed in advance by the revered and venerable chrysobulls. So it was not necessary for me to receive another revered chrysobull [p. 95] about my personal possessions since the previous ones pronounce rightly and suitably about them; but for this reason I made an ardent and earnest request of our most powerful emperor that my decrees and regulations concerning this my holy monastery be kept unaltered, secure, and firmly fixed and valid to the end.[28]

Chapter Nineteen

Concerning the position if the superior of the monastery commits some error or someone else of those in charge of the people entrusted with its services, and concerning those who spend the money belonging to it unsuitably and recklessly, that these people must be driven out of the monastery.

If those in charge of the monastery despise the rules laid down by us—which I pray does not happen—and, instead of helping, cause harm to the brethren, we instruct the subordinate brethren themselves, both those in charge and the old members and especially those given preferment for their virtue and knowledge and those monks of the monastery carrying out its ministry at the time, to rise up in a body to take revenge on them and most zealously set right these outrages so that the dwelling of these very good men should not be destroyed by these people and become deserted and useless. But if anyone is content while such things are going on and allows them to happen, he places himself under no small condemnation from Christ the Savior through the prayers of his immaculate Mother as has been declared before. For if someone openly does wrong for some reason and does not exercise a pure judgment, but is seen as a wolf instead of a shepherd to his flock and disposes of the property of the monastery and its sacred possessions wrongly and recklessly so that he accomplishes the act of a savage to his own perdition, first, in kindness and

encouragement, you ought to counsel such people in holy fear, then if he does not correct himself, despite meeting with such proper care, he will be removed from the holy monastery with the agreement and by the witnessed decision of the community and afterwards in place of this man they should bring forward a deserving person and appoint him by a joint decision.

Chapter Twenty

Concerning lay people who give money in the holy church for liturgies to be held for the dead, and advice from what sort of people they ought to receive it.

They should accept and receive from people who offer gifts only those from which there is no occasion for harm to the monastery nor likelihood of any innovation, [p. 97] but which contribute instead to the strengthening of its established aim and reason—the obedience that leads to faith, although without oppression—and which serve both to encourage the prescribed task and to benefit the souls for whom they are brought as well as those who offer them. For this is well-pleasing to God, namely to bear genuine fruit and to obtain the great reward and not to disguise his true motive for such an action and harm the soul. It is necessary to introduce this matter in accordance with my wish for salvation. All my utterances and writings are for its sake, and I must speak of it and set it as the culminating point at the end of my firm Rule,[29] so that it may be firmly established among us and may be a most evident token and very clear reminder for the united brothers at the time of their own death.

Chapter Twenty-One

Instruction from us to the brothers concerning my commemoration and that of my relations and concerning the memorial repast and feasting they should have on the day when we are remembered and concerning the distribution of gold coins to the brothers in Christ and concerning the showing of every mercy towards them.

So now we give instructions about the commemoration of my late brother the *magistros* Apasios now at glorious rest to be carried out on the day of his death, that is the 20th of September, on which the most honored festival of the great martyr St. Eustathios and his companions is also held. A splendid banquet should be prepared and a table filled with all kinds of good food supplied to us from God, and, over and above the things received by the brothers in accordance with the decree, two more measures of wine should be added for each of them; and those who are priests of the brothers in the monastery and of those brothers in the hermitages and priests of the people in the villages, estates, forts, and the complete holding of our holy monastery should on that day offer gifts[30] to God on his behalf. There should also be on that same day a distribution of 72 *nomismata* to the brothers in Christ and after the dismissal from matins and the holy liturgy 24 *nomismata* should be distributed in his memory to the brothers in Christ and to the other strangers who are there.

In this context I wish to speak about myself also. For as it has been written, “each shall receive his wages according to his work and the labor” (I Cor. 3:8). [p. 99] But to boast will be of no benefit except to do so in the Lord. As he says, “he who boasts, let him boast in the Lord” (I Cor. 1:31). For you yourselves, who have known me closely from the beginning, know of my

hardship and "labor, my toil" (I Thess. 2:9) and sweat and the gift of God which was active in me and not I myself. I know well your love toward me, that without our reminding and instruction you do not forget nor neglect to do in my memory all that is due and fitting. Nevertheless, act with honor, always making mention of us and also those to come after us with zeal and faith.

I ask you as fathers and brothers that you in no way forget us. In our commemoration you should remind yourselves, brothers, as you look at this our delightful house of God which is the holy church, of the annual income and the other revenues, bearing in mind that after God we have been responsible for these. On whatever day, with the approval of God, death comes to me, Gregory, on that day perform my commemoration and distribute to the brothers in Christ 72 *nomismata* and the brothers should be refreshed with a very abundant table laden with food and drink and after the dismissal from matins and the sacred liturgy, 24 gold *nomismata* should be distributed to all those who have come to our aforesaid commemoration. If any of the decreed *nomismata* be left over or any other of the requirements, then these should be distributed to the poor on another occasion. Furthermore, if anything is left over from all the income of this holy monastery, half of all this should be distributed in the same way on the day of our commemoration, for the salvation of my soul, to the pious brothers in Christ, both the poor and those who serve this monastery as hired laborers and dependent peasants, everything being distributed by the superiors and stewards in the fear of God, with a pure conscience and impartial mind, knowing that "the one who held the money box and carried what was put into it" (John 12:6; 13:28) suffered condemnation as he was revealed as a thief and traitor by his stealing, and how in olden times Gehazi was condemned as a leper through his love of money (cf. II Kings 5:27). I wish all these things to be maintained without change steadfastly and securely and that none of these things that I have said should be omitted for any reason. But if money should mount up from the produce of the brothers or any others, the surplus of this should not be distributed to the poor [p. 101] for our sake but should be kept for those who produce it, and they should provide the money on our behalf from the revenue of the holy monastery.

Each year on each day the offerings of the divine mysteries should be made for the salvation of my soul and the bread baked in the bakery, i.e., the three offerings, should be given out—two of them outside the monastery to the sick and other poor people, one will be for my soul and the other for that of my brother. The other offering should be given to the brothers. If perhaps both were offered on my behalf, I give this instruction to all the brotherhood with a word of reproof that, if it were to happen, two liturgies should be celebrated and the three offerings should be made for the salvation of our souls, that is our father's, mine, and my brother's. Also in all the churches offerings should be made expressly in my memory and for the salvation of my soul and you "will find mercy" (II Tim. 1:18).

On the day of the feast of our holy church all the priests must perform the holy liturgies on our behalf—mine, my brother's, and our relatives now dead. Furthermore, holy offerings should be made on our behalf on the day of the resurrection of Christ our God for the whole world, which we are accustomed to call Easter, on the day of the Ascension of Christ our God into heaven, on the holy day of Pentecost on which the Holy Spirit came to stay with us, in the same way on the day of the Annunciation, similarly on the day of the holy birth, and at the divine baptism of the Savior Christ our God, and on all the other feasts of our Lord. In addition to these, offerings

should always be made on Saturday alternately, on one Saturday for me and on the next for my brother. Also, on every day that the priest performs the liturgy, after the completion of the mysteries and the distribution of the holy gift, turning to the holy altar he should remember me and my brother begging forgiveness for our many sins while the rest of the brethren bear him witness; and at the dismissal from matins and at the end of the evening hymn the brethren should again remember me and my brother by name, saying "May God pardon the transgressions of our founders."

On the revered and holy day of Holy Thursday a commemoration should be held for our blessed and glorious father Pakourianos, Prince of Princes, in sacred liturgies and splendid tables; and on the same day 24 *nomismata* should be distributed to the poor. [p. 103] Remember the hardship of my excessive toil which I put up with for love of you, for which may we find our reward from God by remembering and being remembered in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Chapter Twenty-Two

Concerning a superior of this holy monastery who has died and the other brethren and how they should remember them with holy liturgies and prayers.

When the superior of this monastery dies all the brothers must honor him splendidly with incense and candles, in psalms and hymns completing for him the customary rite—that of a priest if he be a priest, but if he is a monk, completing a simple rite that is appropriate to him. They should also make a distribution of twelve *nomismata* in his memory and on that day they should provide for the brothers a refreshment with extra food and drink and the liturgies of all the priests should be celebrated on his behalf. On the third day a night office should be held and again the liturgies should be celebrated on his behalf, also on the fortieth day and on the day that completes a year. But if the dead person is a brother, they should bury him in the same way with hymns and prayers and on the third day the liturgies should be celebrated on his behalf and also on the day that completes a year [from his death].

Chapter Twenty-Three

Concerning the fact that a woman should not enter my holy church and a women's monastery be built within the boundaries of our monastery.

I do not wish a married woman to enter my church or monastery for any reason whatsoever, nor a married couple to reside within those boundaries, nor even any young children, lest there should ever be any scandal, but they should live away somewhere in the villages and the fields. I forbid also a monastery for women to be built within the boundaries of our monastery at the instigation of either the mother of Jovane or of the sister of Ephraim, but instead they must remove these two women away from there. [p. 105] For I order and advise you that our holy monastery should be and remain for ever untrodden by any woman as we prescribed about this before. A woman who wishes to be present for prayer should not be prevented but only on the feast day of this holy church until the time of the holy liturgy; then she should quickly depart. Making prohibitions for this reason we condemn the presence of any in this monastery at any other time except on the aforesaid day.

Chapter Twenty-Four

Concerning the ban on appointing a Greek[31] as priest or monk in my monastery for any reason at all.

I command all those in the monastery and impress it upon them with a most strict ordinance, that a Greek should never be appointed a priest or a monk in this holy monastery of mine, except only as a notary, knowing how to write and send the opinion of the superior to the rulers of the time and, when sent to the same people by him, he could go and deal with the needs of the monastery. I give this instruction and insist upon it for the following reason, lest [the Greeks], being violent, devious, or grasping, should create some deficiency or cause harm to the monastery or lest they appoint someone opposed to the place and eager to gain control over it or gain for himself the office of superior or appropriate the monastery on some other abominable pretext. These sort of things we have often seen happen among our people, caused by simplicity and a gentle disposition. Otherwise we follow these men in the faith as our teachers and we obey their doctrines.

Chapter Twenty-Five

Concerning our Georgian relatives and our men who have entered and will enter the monastic order—how they should receive them.

If then there are some of our relatives, preferred because of their degree of kinship with us, living by the monastic order, men endowed with experience and understanding and suited to promote the interests of the holy monastery and very influential, then we think it necessary and beneficial that these men be preferred to strangers and foreigners. But if they are outside the ranks of the clergy and a virtuous way of life, and not only do they not have the ability for this but are in every way without the aptitude for orderliness, and will be known not to serve wholeheartedly [p. 107] these divine rules, it should not come about that power is handed over to them. For I wish to decree that this dwelling of monks, as has often been stated, be in every way free both from strangers and our close relatives; we also forbid them to make it subject to any other person, but it should continue always forever independent and self-governing. If apart from our aforementioned relatives or men some other Georgian has been tonsured and the decreed number of the monks is deficient, then they must choose such men in preference to others and introduce them to the monastery and enroll them in place of those that are missing to fill up the decreed number, while they are under an obligation to live in accordance with the decreed rule of this monastery and be in harmony with the brothers in the community and be subject to the superior. The decreed number of the monks should never fall short.

Chapter Twenty-Six

Concerning the stewards and the other officials being called to account by the superior and the superior being called to account by the community of the brethren.

It is necessary and right that in the course of a complete year the chief steward of our aforementioned monastery should call his assistant stewards to account and the different people who have been entrusted with positions of service once in the month of September and again at

holy Easter in the fear of God. If they are discovered to have something left over, taking it from them he will make out a receipt for them. The chief steward should be called to account by the superior and being examined by him should receive a receipt from him. The superior, in the fear of God and with the knowledge of the rest of the brothers, should make payment for the needs of the church and the monastery, and should give what is left unspent to the treasurer for the good and benefit of the monastery and they should receive a receipt from him. At each Easter the superior should be called to account by the stewards and the treasurer and the brotherhood. Similarly the treasurer should be called to account twice a year by the superior and the brotherhood. If any of these has defrauded or spent the church's money improperly or foolishly, he must make up again and restore what is missing and spent and they should dismiss him from the service which is in his care. [p. 109]

If anything remains left over from the church's revenue in excess of the expenses decreed by us and other just bequests, whatever there may be of this money should be kept for the benefit of the church and for its good, so that at a suitable time it will be found and spent for the good of the church, as I have said. We also give this order, that the monastery should never be without a sum of up to ten *litrai* [of gold], so that at a time of need it could meet the requirements of the monastery and they should give any money in excess of the ten *litrai* [of gold] to purchase property and they should assign the property to the monastery.

Chapter Twenty-Seven

Concerning the commemoration of the dead in the holy liturgies and the sacraments to make mention of their souls in continual prayers.

This instruction I give you also, my fathers and brothers, with all assurance and certainty and, furthermore, we write it urgently with a word of warning that you celebrate the mystery of the divine liturgy always without fail, continually making mention of the souls of the dead in the customary way, as we have received it from the beginning from those before us and have preserved it up to the present by the grace of God in all the holy churches; so you also guard it well by the favor of God. For all the faithful must keep the present command unshaken and monks even more so. For by this means all the strength of the "adversary" Satan (I Tim. 5:14) is destroyed. In the chapel of St. John the Baptist[32] a priest shall be appointed to carry out there the commemoration of the dead always and unfailingly. A commemoration of all the brothers should be celebrated with a vigil and the singing of psalms all night and a divine liturgy, and not only this but if someone from outside offers a gift in faith, doing a service to this monastery with the donation of money, for a daily commemoration or for a joint commemoration from time to time, they should pray in common for these people zealously and, following our tradition, remember them with the mystery of the divine sacrament. All those who come after us should maintain all these things according to our instruction unfailingly until the end of time. [p. 111]

Chapter Twenty-Eight

Concerning the old and those in danger from infirmity, how they must look after them and provide them with a good rest.

So those of the brothers who are completely worn out and are in distress, suffering from old age or infirmity or some other misfortune, must be especially cared for and looked after and provided with consolation. They themselves must bear up in their affliction and not be faint-hearted or grumble, for they and those doing this service will get their reward together from the just judge, Christ our God. For this is the will of God, to show consideration and love and goodness towards fellow servants. But it is right that the superior should not only show this and act to care for the body but should also care for their souls by means of teaching and in fact like a doctor heal their souls with words; for this is the thing in which we rejoice, about which our whole work and meaning is. For nothing else pleases God more than to bring the intemperate to their senses, to turn drunkards into people with self-control, and to make the violent mild and long-suffering and the arrogant humble. For this is the first wisdom and this the "image" and likeness "of God" (Gen. 1:27) (as far as is possible for a man) who "took our infirmities and bore our diseases" (Matt. 8:17), and what else will such a man be than the mouthpiece of God? As the prophet says, "He who brings forth the precious from the worthless shall be called my mouth" (Jer. 15:19) and will raise his likeness in likeness to the image of its original.

Chapter Twenty-Nine

Concerning the three *klimakes* established by me and called hospices by us and how we set them up.

Below the village called Stenimachos one hospice was established above the two roads. So I lay down and prescribe that from the revenues of the aforesaid village of Stenimachos they should give to it for travelers and the poor on each day that God has made, two *modioi* of grain and two measures of wine and for other food or cooking whatever God's goodness provides, for example some legumes and vegetables. From the private mills which are in Stenimachos, I have also set aside a water mill to grind [the hospice's] meal and I have designated one dependent peasant from this village to be free from all requisitions and service, to which this whole village is subject, [p. 113] and to be subject only to the service of this hospice—that is, to carry wood and water in it and carry out all suitable work for the hospices [lacuna in the text]. . . . Through him this provision is made for the poor and for travelers. So he should be a man of a pure mind and with the fear of God and he should make this provision of necessities honestly and he should receive, along with the other brothers from the monastery, the allowance which falls to him as a brother of the third rank. Many beds should be put in this hospice and there should be a built-in stove and a portable stove there, both hot, so that whenever a stranger comes on winter days, he may warm himself, find shelter, and rest in this hospice. If one of the travelers and friends who are there is in a serious condition with some disease, it is right that he should rest for three days. After these three days they should send him on his way. But if someone reaches a state of great weakness and cannot travel, they must keep such a person and give him rest until he is completely well. They must build a tower on the mountain near the hospice and, if some cause for fear should arise there, they must provide protection for the provisions in the tower so that if any violent person should come, his hand may not reach them.

Also in the hospice called Marmarion, which is near the bridge, and in the other hospice which is near the sea and our monastery of St. Nicholas[33] (we built and established these two

hospices for the salvation of my blessed brother's soul) some picked men who are monks should be similarly placed to minister to travelers and poor people, one in one and the other in the other, and they too should receive allowances just as the one in Stenimachos. To the hospice of Marmarion there should be given each day from the revenue of the village Srabikion one *modios* of grain and one measure of wine and a dependent peasant should be freed to grind the meal, carry the wood, and fulfill all the other necessary service for this hospice. Similarly to the hospice of St. Nicholas there should be given each day from the revenue of the village Prilongos one *modios* of grain and one measure of wine and for cooking whatever there happens to be and divine providence supplies, whether legumes or vegetables; and there too a dependent peasant should be freed to grind meal, carry wood, fetch water, and carry out the remaining services for the hospice.

I bind on oath the superiors of this holy monastery after us never to allow these hospices to suffer a deprivation in whole or in part of the necessities laid down for them. [p. 115] I trust in the goodness of God and the intercession of his saints that, if for no other reason then for these hospices alone, all that has been established and decreed might always be kept safely for ever always without harm and disturbance. If by divine providence the revenue of our monastery becomes greater and more abundant, then the manner of the hospitality should be similarly increased to become the finest and of a superior kind. If not, these services laid down by us in these hospices should remain uninterrupted and untouched, or rather unshaken and firmly fixed; and if any of our successors wishes to check or trim this hospitality established by us, this action will be counted against him as a great sin and he will be liable for our sins.

Chapter Thirty

Concerning the first superior of our monastery appointed by me, the monk Gregory, and the commemoration of him after his death.

This monk, loved by us from the beginning because of his loyalty to us and his zealous service and his earnest prayer for us, but more especially because he was entrusted by us with the careful building and construction with God's help of this often-mentioned very holy monastery of ours and has gained our special love and affection, for this reason in compassion for him we have decreed that after his death the day of his commemoration should be that of the glorious feast of St. Gregory the Theologian.[34] I instruct the priests and brothers to carry this out and to console the brothers with all food and drink and to distribute to the brothers in Christ on each commemoration of him six *nomismata*. They should carry out these instructions on the day of his death and on the third day after that and, furthermore, on the fortieth day and the day that marks a year, as has been described above concerning the superior, if the superior already mentioned keeps safely and steadfastly all that is written in this my *typikon* and is not found to be the cause of ruin to our monastery in a great or small way. For if he be found to be such either in his lifetime or after his death, instead of being remembered he will share in a curse and will have no part in this our holy monastery and the brotherhood in it.

Chapter Thirty-One

Concerning young boys, where they ought to live and be brought up and be taught reading and writing [from the holy scriptures].

It was decreed by us that these boys should stay in the monastery of St. Nicholas,[35] the one near the fort, and be brought up [p. 117] and instructed there, and an old man, one of the priests,[36] full of virtue and knowledge, should be in charge of them and teach them the holy scriptures, also he should act as priest in the most holy church of St. Nicholas. This man should receive his allowance and all that he needs unfailingly just as the brothers of his rank in the great monastery. This man should celebrate the divine mystery on three days each week, on the first of which our blessed father Pakourianos should be remembered in the holy liturgy, on the second his brother Chosrienes, and on the third his son and my cousin Pakourianos.[37] It has been decreed by us that incense, oil, and candles, also offerings and elements, sufficient for the aforesaid sacraments, should be provided without fail for St. Nicholas from the great monastery.

Six of the boys mentioned above should be instructed by the old priest already described, receiving from the great monastery their food and all their clothes as is fitting, and they should remain there until they have completed their learning and attained the proper age for the rank of the priesthood. Then, when they grow their beards, those who are suitable to enter the order of the priesthood should according to the law be appointed to celebrate the sacraments with the other priests in the monastery, even if the prescribed group of priests is not deficient in number. They should also receive without fail all the things that the first priests receive. Those who are not worthy of the priesthood should be completely expelled as being responsible for this to themselves, but the number of six boys under instruction in the church of St. Nicholas should in no way fall short.

Chapter Thirty-Two

Concerning the letting or selling of fields or property to persons in the name of the monastery.

We are against this and we lay it down that, in accordance with the rule of the monasteries of the East and the West,[38] the superior of our monastery has in no way at all the power to give to any brother any of the possessions of our monastery, neither a dependent peasant's holding nor other land nor a garden nor a vineyard nor any such thing belonging to the aforementioned monastery, so that the very fine harmony and concord of the brotherhood should not be destroyed. Similarly, he should not sell or let to any persons. For I firmly instruct and earnestly beg that he should not only [p. 119]—God forbid—not do this but not even consider making over in any way to any person any of all the property of the holy monastery except only to the dependent peasants who customarily work for it.

Chapter Thirty-Three

[A] Concerning the safekeeping of the present document[39] of the monastery with the regulating order for the often-mentioned most holy monastery recently built by us with God's help, and to prevent the removal of any of the items contained in it as has been decreed by us, or their alteration, or the accepting of any relaxation.

Those superiors and other brothers of this monastery who have the care of it after me and those with them and under them I bind by oath before the Lord God and secure them with penalties, that they do not dare to alter anything of what has been laid down by me for our monastery or cause the pilfering or diminution of its properties and possessions in any way or misinterpret what

has been laid down by us or alter the present *typikon* in any way or change it, take away so much as a syllable of it or even destroy it completely or try to steal it and take it away from this monastery and deprive the monastery of things bequeathed by us. Such a person will be under the condemnation of the Lord God Almighty and banished from all his saints, subject to our anger and sin and accountable for our transgressions before Christ on the fearful day of judgment when I pray that we all be not liable to condemnation and punishment but share in everlasting blessings and have eternal enjoyment in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever, Amen.

[B] Concerning the sacred treasures and revered holy icons and the rest of the offerings of all kinds assigned, consecrated, and handed over to our aforesaid holy monastery, and further about the grazing animals in its control and other animals.

Two icons of enameled gold having precious wood in them.

A large enameled icon of the Transfiguration. [p. 121]

A large octagonal enameled icon with precious stones.

A small enameled icon of the Mother of God, with wings.

A large enameled cross with precious stones for the holy table.

A silver military cross with red precious stones.

A wooden cross covered with gold and precious stones, namely five bluish-purple hyacinths.[40]

An icon of the Crucifixion made of stone, with wings.

An icon of St. George painted on wood[41] with a silver frame.

Icons painted on wood with gold nimbuses (?),[42] 27 in number, and one templon[43] depicting the twelve feasts.

An icon of St. George and St. Theodore of bronze,[44] with a silver frame.

One set of silver-gilt paten and chalice with precious stones of which twelve are missing.

A jasper paten with gold and enameling.

Three sets of silver paten and chalice.

A silver spoon.

Three silver censers and one silver casket.[45]

A reliquary, that is a silver box[46] of holy relics.

Two silver chandeliers[47] with their chains, one of which is inlaid with gold.

A Greek Gospel lectionary with precious stones and gold and enamel [decoration on its cover].

A copy of the four Gospels in Georgian with silver gilt [cover].

Another small copy of the four Gospels with small silver studs [on its cover].

Another copy of the four Gospels with silver studs [on its cover].

A Gospel lectionary for daily use with silver gilt [cover].

Another Gospel lectionary for daily use without decoration.

A book containing a commentary on St. John's Gospel.

A book of [St. Gregory] the Theologian.

A book containing the *Moralia* of St. Basil.

A book [containing] a collection of the miracles of St. Symeon. [p. 123]

Two books by St. Maximos [the Confessor].

Two copies of *The Heavenly Ladder* by John Klimakos.

Two other books about the Mother of God.

A book by Theodore the Studite.

Three *Menaia*.

One copy of the *Oktoechos*.

One copy of the *Synaxarion*.

One copy of the *Euchologion*.

Two copies of the *Apostolos*.

One copy of the Psalter.

Another copy of the *Euchologion* with silver studs.

A copy of the *Parakletike* in four modes.

One copy of the *Parakletike*.

A book by St. Isaac.

Another copy of the *Menaion*: a collection.

Four violet-purple imperial over-tunics,[48] one of which is woven with gold.

Four belted outer garments,[49] with gold letters.

Two garments of violet purple silk.[50]

Five heavy *skaramangia*.

One garment of Maurianites silk.

One tricolored silk garment.[51]

Another *skaramangion*.

An altar cloth made of Maurianites silk with all its fittings.

Two similar altar cloths for the two other churches—complete.

Another altar cloth of white samite[52] having an icon of the Mother of God with pearls.

Changes of vestments for a priest.

Three *maphoria*, one of which has an icon with pearls.

Another *maphorion* with trimming[53] and three other *maphoria* of silk.

Twelve large bronze candlestands,[54] and two other small ones.

One complete candlestand[55] for the *templon*[56] with its spikes, and two other small ones with their handles.

Two arched candlestands.[57] [p. 125]

Nine dragon-shaped[58] brackets with their chains.

Ten other dragon-shaped brackets without chains.

Seventeen chandeliers[59] with their chains.

One small basin for the feast of the Epiphany.

One small lamp in the shape of a basket.[60]

A basin and ewer[61] for washing and one stool.

Seventeen conical glasses.[62]

Also one pitcher.

Also one bowl.

Another pitcher made of rock crystal.[63]

Another green pitcher called a *mena*, and other glass cups and various lamps.

[C] Concerning the animals.

Stallions and mares with their foals, all together 110.

Male donkeys and females with their foals, 15.

Milk-producing buffaloes,[64] 4.

Calves, 2, and plowing oxen, including those in all the properties of the monastery, 47 yoke.

Heifers and bullocks, 72.

Milk-producing sheep, 238.

Rams, 94, and goats, 52.

[D] Concerning the chrysobulls kept in Constantinople in the great church of God.[65]

Three chrysobulls concerning our possessions in the East, that is, one about the district of Anion, the second about the district of Tais, and the third about the district of Tzourmere.

Two chrysobulls concerning my possessions in the theme Armeniakoi, one about those in Labaka and the other about those in Arnasakion and Martisapao. [p. 127]

One chrysobull concerning the monastery of lady Euphrosyne in the village Libadion.

Three chrysobulls of the Emperor Michael [VII Doukas] concerning my possessions in Mosynopolis.

Four chrysobulls concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis.

A chrysobull of exoneration for my administration at Kars.

Two chrysobulls of exoneration for my administration at Theodosioupolis.

Another chrysobull of exemption concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis and Mosynopolis.

A chrysobull concerning the village of Xantheia.

A chrysobull for Margon on papyrus[66] which I have as a guarantee.

Two *libelloi*, the one concerning the village of Eudokimou and the other concerning the village of Kotresi.

The *semeiosis* of the Emperor Michael [VII Doukas] concerning the matter of the Patzinak which had arisen then.

Similarly another *semeiosis* of the same person concerning the metropolitan of Philippoupolis.

Another *semeiosis* of [Nikephoros III] Botaneiates concerning my possessions at Philippoupolis.

Imperial *pittakia* published in different departments and other ordinances on different matters, sixty-five in number.

There are also copies of the three chrysobulls concerning my possessions in the East.

[E] Concerning the chrysobulls stored and preserved in our monastery.

Two chrysobulls of exoneration for my administration as the *megas domestikos*.

One chrysobull concerning the fort of Baniska and the village Tzerbena.

A chrysobull concerning improvements on my properties, the building of fortresses, villages, and monasteries.

Another chrysobull on the same subject and stating that, if the revenue of our possessions should become exceedingly great, I and my successors should have untroubled possession of it.

A chrysobull about our monastery of Petritzos concerning the [right of] dominion, independence, and complete freedom of the same monastery and concerning my properties assigned to it.

A chrysobull concerning Spasma and Pankalitze. [p. 129]

Two chrysobulls maintaining my non-liability and freedom from having to account for the imperial money I paid to summon the Cumans.

A chrysobull of exoneration (for my administration) in the theme of Smolenoi.

Two chrysobulls concerning my possessions in Achrido, concerning the village Sikonion and the village Charpetikion.

A chrysobull on the matter of the sacred objects of the most holy monastery of Chachou.

A chrysobull which gives me permission to transfer my possessions to whomsoever I wish, both to my relatives and my people, even if they happen to be of the Armenian faith.

A copy of a chrysobull about my possessions in Boleron and Mosynopolis.

Another copy of a chrysobull concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis.

Three other copies of a chrysobull concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis.
A copy of a chrysobull concerning my administration in Theodosioupolis.

An imperial *pittakion* concerning the taxation of all my possessions.

Three other *pittakia* concerning exemption from seizure.[67]

Another *pittakion* concerning the theme of Smolenoi.

The receipt for the gift of three *kentenaria* [of gold] which the Franks received and the ordinance concerning these matters and various other receipts.

A *semeiosis* of the archivist and a *pittakion* addressed to the judge of a theme. List and receipt of our chrysobulls and other titles of ownership deposited in the church of Hagia Sophia.

The copy of the cadastral survey[68] for Srabikion and the guarantees for the inhabitants of the same village.

The copy of the cadastral survey for the village Prilonkos.

The documents of purchase of Vardanes concerning the *aule* in Mosynopolis and the monastery of St. George in Pappikion.

Receipts for the amount brought in for the tax-requirements from the theme of Smolenoi.

The *praktikon* and delimitation of my possessions in Philippoupolis.

The *praktikon* and delimitation of my possessions in Mosynopolis, similarly the receipts of the steward concerning the *libellikon* tax. [p. 131]

The *pittakion* [establishing] the taxation for my possessions in Mosynopolis.

The *praktikon* and the articles of transfer for Labaka.

The guarantees and the receipts of those conducting the fair of Stenimachos.

The report made by Mesopotamites under imperial command concerning Bodena and the village of Zachariou.

[F] The present *typikon* was written in Greek,[69] Georgian, and Armenian for our very sacred monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* in the month of December of the seventh indiction, year 6592, and was signed in Armenian by me myself, Gregory Pakourianos, the *sebastos* and *megas domestikos* of the West and by the most holy Patriarch of Jerusalem, lord Euthymios,[70] to guarantee and confirm all that has been written in the same, since he happened to be here by order of our mighty and holy Emperor requiring him to be in Thessalonike for peace with the hateful Frank and on his return again arrived here with us at my estates at Philippoupolis. It was written in Greek, Georgian, and Armenian because the monks of this monastery happen to be Georgians and do not understand Greek writing and so it is necessary for them to read this *typikon* in Georgian and Armenian. But we decree that the complete Greek version here has supreme authority because it received the signature at the end of its text. A copy of this also was made and was also signed in the same way and was deposited in the most holy monastery of *Panagios* which is in the city protected by God, to be stored and guarded in this monastery for ever. If—something I pray may not happen—any of the superiors in this aforesaid holy monastery of ours, or any of the monks in it, to the ruin of the monastery and its property rises up and tries to set aside what has been written in the present *typikon* and is prompted to bring about its downfall and destruction, the *typikon* stored in the aforesaid monastery of *Panagios* will be produced and will convict the one who has dared to commit this outrage and he will be called to account as is right and restitution will be demanded for whatever sin he commits and he will be expelled from the monastery. Then this [p. 133] *typikon* should be deposited once again in the aforementioned monastery of *Panagios*. For in no way do we wish it to be sent for or kept outside this monastery or the city; for this reason we put on oath the superiors in this monastery and the other brothers by our immaculate Mother of God herself that this present wish of ours should remain in force and the *typikon* of our monastery should be kept safe in it. Furthermore, if there is some need of it on the part of some outside quarreling about something in the *typikon* stored in our monastery, a copy must be made and authentication obtained from the superior and the brothers and this sent to them, but the original, as has been made clear, should never be moved from the monastery.[71]

I, Euthymios, by the mercy of God Patriarch of Jerusalem, the city of the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God, have signed with my own hand the present *typikon* of the Georgian monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* of the *sebastos* and *megas domestikos* of the West, the lord Gregory Pakourianos.

Notes on the Translation

1. For Pakourianos' family, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 158–61.
2. For the problematic relationship of *Panagios*' *typikon* with the present document, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 132, n. 44; *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 29–30; and "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite

composée au debut du XIe siècle par Athanase de Lavra," in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), p. 85, n. 72.

3. The founder is impossible to identify with certainty. He may have been Athanasios the Athonite's successor Antony, who, according to Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. cxviii–cxxiv, following Leroy, "Les deux vies de S. Athanase l'Athonite," *AB* 82 (1964), left Lavra to assume the superiorship of *Panagios*, at that time a Lavriote dependency. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 132, n. 44, suggested that the founder referred to here was a monk Panagios, who makes an appearance in the sources in 1078 as an opponent of the projected marriage of Nikephoros Botaneiates to Eudoxia, daughter of Constantine X Doukas.
4. See Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, *PG* 31, col. 1349B.
5. The table of contents is an occasional feature of the more formal organization of monastic *typika* noticeable from the late eleventh century onwards; see also later indices for (34) *Machairas*, (45) *Neophytos*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (58) *Menoikeon*.
6. St. John's and St. George's were subsidiary chapels rather than separate churches in their own right; see [12] and [27] below; according to [27], St. John's was a funerary chapel.
7. For a full discussion of Pakourianos' landed properties, see Lemerle (with Catherine Asdracha), *Cinq études*, pp. 175–81.
8. Presumably as a result of the loss of Byzantine control over the city to the Armenians under Philaretos Brachamios in 1078, six years before the Seljuk conquest in 1084.
9. See the discussion of these coinages in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 137, n. 54.
10. Pakourianos' annoucement of the defeat of the Patzinaks (Petchenegs) is premature, of course, for he died at their hands in a battle near Philippoupolis in 1086.
11. The Cumans, like the Patzinaks a nomadic people of the eastern European steppe, were originally allied to them; plundered Thrace in 1087, then were employed by Alexios Komnenos against the Patzinaks in 1091.
12. See the inventory, [33B] and [33C] below.
13. Cf. Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, ed. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (London, 1896), p. 388.
14. A reference to the sixth chrysobull listed in the inventory, [33E] below: "A chrysobull about our monastery of Petritzos . . ."
15. Philippoupolis and Mosynopolis were the locations of two of the largest clusters of Pakourianos' landed properties; see the map in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, after p. 191.
16. In fact, the word is Armenian, which has fed the already intense debate about Pakourianos' origins; see Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," pp. 159–63; Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 141, n. 64, thought it might be a marginal annotation that has been introduced into the text of the *typikon*.
17. There are similarities between the wording used here and that found in the somewhat later (21) *Roidion* [B2] and [B5]; the respective contexts of these documents make borrowing unlikely, but the passages may derive from a common source.
18. See [21] below.
19. (20) *Black Mountain* [52] is critical of this sort of patronal designation of feasts that might interfere with the observance of fast days.
20. *kankela*.
21. This is an apparent reference to the Bačkovo ossuary; for the two subsidiary chapels, see also [1] above.
22. Yet this is permitted later in (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon*.
23. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 37 ([LR 37]), *PG* 31, col. 1012C.
24. See [5], [6], [8], [10] above.
25. See [21] below.
26. Cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, chap. 29, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1938), p. 114.

27. The reference to another regulatory document is obscure, but note the possible reference to a liturgical *typikon* with detailed dietary prescriptions in [8] above.
28. Perhaps the fifth chrysobull listed in the inventory, [33E] below; cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11], a chrysobull the author of that document had obtained from Nikephoros III Botaneiates to confirm [INV 10], an earlier chrysobull of Michael VIII Doukas.
29. This suggests that Pakourianos originally intended to conclude his *typikon* at the end of [22] below.
30. The "gifts" are the eucharistic oblation.
31. *Romaios*.
32. For this chapel, see also [1] and [12] above.
33. For this dependency, see also [31] below.
34. Gregory Nazianzen's feast day is January 25.
35. See also [29] above.
36. See [7] above.
37. See the family tree in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 159.
38. The reference is obscure, but cf. *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 12 (R&P 2.592–93), which forbids bishops and superiors to lease out even profitless tracts of land to state officials.
39. Addressed below in [37F].
40. *meta hyakinthinon menepson*.
41. *hylographia*.
42. *meta petalon*: Gautier translated 'lamelles' and observed that these were of gold according to the Georgian version of the *typikon*; see "Pakourianos," l20, n. l686. For the view that *petalon* denotes a metal nimbus around the face of a saint, see Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn*, 71, commentary on lines 22 and 23
43. Sanctuary barrier.
44. *saroutin*.
45. *kamptrion*.
46. *sirtarion*.
47. *polykandela*; the translation of names for Byzantine lighting devices follows Laskarina Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982), 479–91.
48. *epilorika oxykastora*; for the imperial garments mentioned here, see [2] above.
49. *sphinktouria*. See Koukoules (*BBP*, vol. 6, pp. 293–94), who argues convincingly that *sphinktourion* was an outer garment worn with a belt.
50. *blattia oxykastora*. For *kastorion* denoting a purple murex dye, see Koukoules, *BBP*, v. 2.2, p. 25, n.6.
51. *blattion triblattion*. For the meaning of the terms *diblattion* or *triblattion*, see (19) *Attaleiates*, n. 35 on the translation.
52. *hexamiton*.
53. *simenton* (Lat. "segmentum"): trimming made with decorative fabric. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2, p. 47.
54. *manoualia*.
55. *manoualion meta keropegion*. Accoring to Bouras ("Lighting Devices," p. 481) the reference may be to a *lamna*, for which see Glossary below.
56. Sanctuary barrier.
57. *kamarai manoualia*.
58. *dracontaria*.
59. *polykandela*.
60. *kaniskion*.
61. *cherniboxeston*.
62. *mouchroutia poteria*. Bouras, "Lighting Devices," p. 481, suggested that these were probably "conical glasses related to the seventeen polycandela" included in the inventory.

63. *kryon*.
64. *boubalia amelgadia*.
65. See the discussion in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 162–63.
66. *xylochartion*.
67. The translation of *aposchideumos* follows Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 155, n. 87.
68. *isokodikon*; for the meaning of this term, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 156, n. 88.
69. *romaikon*.
70. Apparently not otherwise known; see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 452.
71. Pakourianos' signature is not found in the Greek manuscript on which Gautier's edition is based, but Petit, "Typikon," p. 57, supplied a Greek text for the Armenian signature he found in his manuscript, Codex Bucharest 694 (18th c.), which translates as follows: "I, Gregory Pakourianos, the *sebastos* and *megas domestikos* of the West, have signed the present *typikon* of my sacred monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* with my own hand."

Document Notes

[1] Foundation history. Cf. other examples in (6) *Rila* [1]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [3]; (13) *Ath. Rule* [2] ff.; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*; (22) *Evergetis* [2], [3]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A2] ff. For the sensitivity towards the peasantry expressed herein, see also (9) *Galesios* [246], (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [14], (19) *Attaleiates* [39], (24) *Christodoulos* [A13], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76], [103] as well as the philanthropic provision in [21] below.

[2] Dedications of landed property and sacred artifacts by Gregory and Apasios. Many of these dedications are also listed in the inventory in [33] below. (19) *Attaleiates* [3], [4], [5] also provides a detailed accounting of consecrated offerings.

[3] Free and self-governing status. The choice of this status is justified in [18] below. See also earlier provisions in (9) *Galesios* [247] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* as well as contemporary provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [14], (22) *Evergetis* [12], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A16]. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 138, n. 58, thought that this chapter, less the mention of the metropolitan of Philippoupolis, was borrowed from the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*.

[4] Requirements of communal life. Note the intense hostility to kelliotic and other alternative forms of monasticism evident here. (10) *Eleousa* [4], (11) *Ath. Rule* [31], and (22) *Evergetis* [26] also provide for equality of food, while (9) *Galesios* [187] advocates it. (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [71], [72] and (22) *Evergetis* [22] with its related documents likewise condemn secret eating. Private possessions are prohibited or severely restricted in (3) *Theodore Studites* [2]; (6) *Rila* [6]; (10) *Eleousa*; (11) *Ath. Rule* [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A22]; cf. the discussion in (9) *Galesios* [138], [191], [192]. (12) *Tzimiskes*, Introduction; (15) *Constantine IX* [13]; (19) *Attaleiates* [42]; and (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] all assume the existence of or explicitly permit servants; (22) *Evergetis* [24], however, along with many related documents, forbids servants.

[5] Selection of the superior. See other procedures in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [16], [17], [19]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], [14]; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [13]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29]; (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A18]. (3) *Theodore Studites* [3]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; and (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents also forbid the superior to show favoritism to his relatives. Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 50, n. on line 521, thought this chapter and the preceding one were borrowed from the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*.

[6] Number of monks; the monastery's officials. The set number of positions is reiterated in [25] below. For the fixing of a specific number of monks to be supported in a foundation, see also (9) *Galesios* [246]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37]; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [6]; (19) *Attaleiates* [27]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [5]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48]; (30) *Phoberos* [42]; (32) *Mamas* [5]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]. (22) *Evergetis* [23], however, rejects the idea of a fixed number of monks. There is a complete list of the monastery's 26 officials in Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," p. 158. In [9] below, the monastery's monks are divided into three orders of differing privilege.

[7] Qualifications and responsibilities of the priests. According to [6], there were to be six priests for the celebration of the liturgy. Note the ambivalent attitude expressed here towards priests. In [31] below, one of the priests is assigned to the dependency of St. Nicholas, where he was to educate youths with a view to becoming priests themselves. (27) *Kecharitomene* [15] discusses the qualifications of priests to be recruited for the convent for which it was written. (22) *Evergetis* [5] also provides for a daily celebration of the liturgy.

[8] Refectory procedures; hospitality for visitors. This chapter presumes acquaintance with a more detailed dietary regulation evidently once contained in a separate document (a liturgical *typikon*?) that is no longer preserved. See comparable treatments of refectory procedures in (4) *Stoudios* [28], [29]; (10) *Eleousa* [4]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [21]; (20) *Black Mountain* [33]; and (22) *Evergetis* [9], with related documents. Cf. provisions for hospitality here with those for visitors at the foundation's lodging houses in [29] below. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 141, n. 66, and Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 62, n. on line 731, thought this chapter was borrowed from the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*.

[9] Clothing allowances. The implication is that *Panagios*, the model *typikon*, had a communal provision of clothing, which is here rejected. Allowances are similar to those found later in (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (58) *Menoikeion* [12]; cf. the communal provision of clothes in (22) *Evergetis* [25] and related documents.

[10] Dietary regulations for fasts. The diet prescribed is somewhat stricter than (22) *Evergetis* [10] and [Appendix], which is more liberal in permitting the use of olive oil and the consumption of wine during fasts.

[11] Celebration of the feast of the Dormition. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [112].

[12] Liturgical prescriptions. For the illumination of churches, see (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [13] and (28) *Pantokrator* [29], [34].

[13] Requirement of confession to the superior; expulsion of the insubordinate. See contemporary treatment of confession in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents. For expulsion, see also [15] below. (2) *Pantelleria* [21], (14) *Ath. Testament* [9], and even (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents provide for expulsion under certain circumstances, but generally the emphasis is on retention—see (20) *Black Mountain* [76]—perhaps for fear of losing the reprobate monk's entrance gift.

[14] Manual labor and prayer not incompatible. (32) *Mamas* [21] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21] imply the same; but cf. the exhortation of officials in (22) *Evergetis* [33] and related documents. Note penal connotation of manual labor here, for those "whose characters are not reliable nor hearts repentant."

[15] No unauthorized departures or self-imposed ascetic observances; disciplinary guidance. See the injunction of monastic stability in (12) *Tzimiskes* [8] and the more sympathetic treatment of voluntary asceticism in (20) *Black Mountain* [72]. Penalty of expulsion also appears in [13] above.

[16] Property administrators. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [34] and related documents.

[17] Eunuchs and young boys banned. (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Rule* [48], and (15) *Constantine IX* [1] ban youths and eunuchs; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [49] and (30) *Phoberos* [58] ban youths; (3) *Theodore Studites* [18] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34] ban adolescent disciples.

[18] Rationale for independent and self-governing status. See also [3] above, with cross-references. For lawsuits over legal rights in private religious foundations, see (15) *Constantine IX*, Introduction, [8], and (19) *Attaleiates* [34], [43].

[19] Expulsion of the superior or other officials wrongfully disposing of property. See also the ban on sale or rental of monastic property in [32] and the curse on violators in [33] below. For removal of the superior elsewhere, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [16]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26]; and (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents. For removal of other officials guilty of deceitful or careless administration, see (22) *Evergetis* [32], cf. [42] and related documents. Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 94, n. on line 1248, regarded this chapter and [20] below as likely borrowings from the *Panagios typikon*.

[20] Selective acceptance of donations for memorial sevices. See also [27] below. (19) *Attaleiates* [30] is much less critical, while (22) *Evergetis* [36] implies acceptability of such donations. Note premature announcement of the impending conclusion of the *typikon*, presumably after [21] and [22] below.

[21] Commemorations for the founder, his father and brother. See the earlier provision for patronal commemoration in (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [1] and the contemporary provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [31], (22) *Evergetis* [35], and (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]. (20) *Black Mountain* [52] is critical of patronal designation of feasts that might override canonical days of fasting.

[22] Funeral rites and commemorations for departed superiors and monks. See also [27], [30] below. See similar provisions in (21) *Roidion* [B12], (22) *Evergetis* [36] and related documents, and in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54].

[23] Exclusion of women from the premises; no nunnery to be established. See similar earlier provisions in (3) *Theodore Studites* [15], [16]. (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents, (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], and (28) *Pantokrator* [18] also ban women. Like this document, many others make an exception from the general principle of exclusion on the patronal feast. Judging from the declaration in [20] above and the repetitive treatment of the number of monks in [25], cf. [6] below, this and the following chapters are probably later editions to the *typikon*.

[24] No Greek priests or monks, except for a secretary. Quite likely Pakourianos was aware of the conflicts between Georgian and Greek monks at another foundation to which he had extended his patronage, the Iveron monastery on Mount Athos; see the discussion in Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," pp. 143–44, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 42–45.

[25] Preferential admissions for Georgian monks; maintenance of the set number of positions for monks. Later, both (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [50] will provide for preferential admissions for the founders' relatives. The requirement to maintain the number of monks revisits the requirement first set down in [6] above.

[26] Accountability of financial officials; cash reserve fund. (22) *Evergetis* [30], along with various related documents, holds financial officials—but not the superior [18]—accountable, as does (19) *Attaleiates* [23], [41]. Cash reserve funds are found also in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94].

[27] Prescriptions for liturgical commemorations of the dead. See also [20], [22] above. There is an earlier provision of this sort in (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [1], [4] and contemporary ones in (19) *Attaleiates* [31], (21) *Roidion* [B12], (22) *Evergetis* [36], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A7].

[28] Care for old and sick monks. See the provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [41] and related documents as well as in the later (28) *Pantokrator* [10] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61].

[29] Funding and staffing for the three hospices. Cf. provisions for hospitality for visitors to the monastery in [8] above. The contemporary (19) *Attaleiates* [20], (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3], [B4], [B7], [B8], and (22) *Evergetis* [38] also provide for hospitality in their hospices.

[30] Liturgical commemoration for the first superior, Gregory. See (13) *Ath. Typikon* [5] ff. for an earlier example of a relationship of this sort between a patron and his monastic director.

[31] Training of boys for priesthood. See discussion in Konidares, "Hieratike Schole." The number of students was to match the number of priests set in [6] above; perhaps the intent was to provide a dependable source of clerics socialized to the mores of the foundation, thereby freeing the monastery from the necessity of the external recruitment contemplated in [7] above. (34) *Machairas* [115] also makes a provision for a boys' school.

[32] Ban on sale or rental of monastic properties. Functionally equivalent to the declarations of the inalienability of same found in (15) *Constantine IX* [9], (10) *Eleousa* [18], (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [22], (22) *Evergetis* and related documents.

[33] Maintenance of the *typikon*; curse on alienators of monastic property; inventory of movable property; provisions for security of the *typikon*. For preservation of the *typikon*'s provisions, see (8) *John Xenos* [3]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [22]; (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [8], [9]; (22) *Evergetis* [40]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A27]; (32) *Mamas* [15]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [15]; and (34) *Machairas* [158]. The

inventory mentioned in (22) *Evergetis* [3] is now missing in that document, but (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 4] ff. provides a comparable contemporary example. The idea of keeping a copy of the *typikon* on deposit at a friendly institution would be adopted later in (32) *Mamas*, Addition, Second *Semeioma*; see also (19) *Attaleiates* [40] for using a copy rather than the original of the *typikon* for ordinary purposes.